LETTERS OF WILLIAM VANS MURRAY TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1797-1803.

EDITED BY

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

NOTE.

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The letters from Murray to John Quincy Adams are numbered with Roman numerals, and are, without exception, taken from the Adams Papers. To these have been added the more important private letters which passed between Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, and Murray. These are taken from the Pickering manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The correspondence of Murray, letters to him, was purchased by the Pennsylvania Historical Society; his letter books and diary are in the Morgan library, New York. Some Murray letters are in the Library of Congress, and his official dispatches are in the Department of State. I have not listed these collections, because of the mass; but other letters, published and unpublished, are noted in their chronological order.

Prefixed to the letters is an appreciation of Murray written by John Quincy Adams and printed in the *Portfolio*.

The editor alone is responsible for the notes.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD,
Editor.

BOSTON, *October, 1913.*

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WILLIAM VANS MURRAY.[1]

By John Quincy Adams.

Died at his seat in Cambridge, Eastern Shore of Maryland, on the eleventh of December, in the forty-second year of his age William Vans Murray, Esq., late Minister of the United States, to the Batavian Republic, and one of the Envoys extraordinary to the French Republic.

Mr. Murray was one of those characters, whose decease ought not to be passed over, with the mere ordinary notice of a newspaper paragraph. At an early age, he had risen high in the honors, and shared largely in the confidence of his country. He had filled various offices of the most important trust, and had executed their duties with great ability and success. He had rendered to the United States services, the importance of which will be more and more appreciated the more they are known, and the more extensively their consequences, which are still operating, shall be spread. He was a virtuous citizen. He was a faithful, able and indefatigable public servant. He was an accomplished and an amiable man. His memory is an object not uninteresting to his nation. To the heart of friendship which guides the pen at this moment, it is precious, it is inestimable.

During the period of the American revolution, Mr. Murray was passing from that of infancy to manhood. At the peace of 1783, he was about twenty-two years of age, and had received an education preparatory to the practice of the law. Immediately after that event he went to London, for the benefit of improvement by travel and foreign instruction, and resided during a period of three years as a student in the temple. Here he became acquainted with, and enjoyed the society of several English gentlemen, then upon the same establishment, and who have since become very eminent characters in that nation, as statesmen, and in the republic of letters as men of genius and science. At an age, when the passions usually riot in their most unlicensed range; with a natural constitution by its exquisite sensibility peculiarly exposed to the seductions of dissipation, and in the midst of a luxurious and splendid metropolis, where all the energies and powers of man are combined to vary the scenes

[1] The Portfolio, January 7, 1804.

of delight, and multiply enjoyments, where sloth allures to beds of down, and pleasure beckons with swimming eye, and enchanting smiles, he retained the firmness and resolution of devoting his time and attention to those objects, which were to mark the usefulness of his future life. The observations of Doctor Price, of Mr. Turgot, and of the Abbé de Mably upon the constitutions and laws of the United States, were published during this residence of Mr. Murray in England. He felt the importance of the subject, and meditated these writings of those great men, with that ardor of research and that integrity of purpose, which were strongly marked features of his mind and heart. He published the result of his reflections, in a pamphlet which was favourably received by the public, and which may still be consulted with advantage by any person curious of our constitutional history.

In the summer of 1784, while a student in the Temple, Mr. Murray took advantage of a vacation, to make an excursion of about six weeks to Holland. He travelled over that country with the pleasure which during that season of the year it cannot fail to give a man of lively imagination, of accurate observation and of judicious reflection. Enjoying the novelty and beauties of its scenery, remarking the manners, characters and usages of the inhabitants, inquiring into their laws, constitutions, and government, he committed to paper the result of all, as he went along; at the inns, in the travelling barks, at every resting place of the stage, he was assiduous in the use of his pen, and thus improved to valuable purpose every moment of that time, which he had considered as indulged to relaxation and amusement. The mass of information which he thus collected, and preserved in minutes made on the spot, he afterwards digested and methodized into a regular work; which has never been published, and which the writer of this article has never seen, but which he hopes is not lost, and wishes may one day be published.

Before the expiration of the term which Mr. Murray had allotted to his residence in England, he lost his father. The death of a distant friend is almost always to the survivor the same in effect as if it were sudden death. Mr. Murray had no intimation of his father's illness. The first intelligence he received, after a letter from him indicating perfect health, was an abrupt notification of his decease. To that father, his attachment was unbounded. It was the gratitude of a generous soul united to the sentiment of filial affection. The shock was too violent for a constitution always feeble, and at that time in precarious health. The day after receiving the information, he took to his bed from which for six weeks he did not rise; a languid and tedious convalescence of several months succeeded this illness, shortly after which he returned to his native country.

In the course of his abode in England he formed an attachment to the lady, to whom he was afterwards united, and who survives to lament his loss.

Immediately after his return he engaged in the practice of the law; but the voice of his country very soon called him to her councils. He was elected first a member of the Legislature of Maryland, and at three successive elections from 1791 to 1797 to a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. This station he filled with distinguished honor to himself, and with entire satisfaction to his constitutents. His fortune, however, which was not affluent, had suffered by the devotion of his time to the public service and so loudly called for some of his attention in its turn that in 1797 he had declined standing a candidate for re-election. But his merit and talents had not escaped the discerning eye of a Washington. He was unwilling that they should be buried in retirement, and one of the last acts of his administration was the appointment of Mr. Murray as Minister of the United States to the Batavian Republic.

He arrived at the Hague at a very critical period of affairs. The misunderstandings and disputes between the United States and France were festering to a rupture. The influence of France over the Batavian councils was uncontrouled, and her disposition to involve Holland in opposition to her most unquestionable and urgent interest in the quarrel was not equivocal. By a judicious mixture of firmness, of address, and of conciliation, he not only succeeded in preserving uninterrupted harmony between the American and Batavian nations, but when the French government, listening to wiser suggestions than those, which had almost precipitated them into a war with America, became sensible that the true interests of both nations dictated peace and reconciliation, their first step was to send to the Hague a negociator calculated by his personal character, by his patriotism as a Frenchman, and by his friendly disposition towards the Americans, to second the congenial views and intentions of the American Minister at that place. The first advances towards a restoration of harmony were thus made, by conferences between Mr. Murray, and Mr. Pichon, then chargé des affaires of France at the Hague; these led to certain propositions for a renewal of direct negociations, made by France, which Mr. Murray transmitted to his government.

When the dispatches containing the account of these interviews and the propositions of the French government were received, and had been fully considered by the then President of the U. States, he thought them sufficient to lay the foundation for that direct negociation which was desired by France; he nominated Mr. Murray as Envoy extraordinary to the French Republic, for that purpose. This was undoubtedly, under the circumstances of that time, no ordinary

testimony of confidence in the abilities as well as the integrity of the Minister. It was even thought by those who had less experience and knowledge of his talents and character, confidence too extensive. In compliance with these opinions, two other gentlemen, of the highest respectability, were afterwards joined in the nomination and commission with him. He had justly estimated the proof of the President's personal trust, exhibited in the first and sole nomination; and he felt it as an additional mark of the same esteem, when he had colleagues given him, with whom it was an honour to be associated.

The issue of this negociation, which terminated in the treaty concluded at Paris, the 30th of September 1800, is too recent, not to be within the recollection of every one. Immediately after the signature of that instrument, Mr. Murray returned to his station, as Minister resident at the Hague, where he remained until after the commencement of the present administration. He was then sent again to Paris, to make the exchange of the ratifications, which he accordingly effected. But, as it was judged unnecessary to continue the expense of maintaining a public Minister at the Hague, he was immediately afterwards recalled from that mission, and returned to the United States in December, 1801. From that period, until his decease, he had lived in retirement at his seat in Cambridge. His health had always been infirm, and, for the last eighteen months, had been in a continual decline.

In private life, Mr. Murray was remarkably pleasing in his manners, and at once amusing and instructive in his conversation. With a mind of incessant activity, and observation ever upon the watch, he united the all enlivening fancy of a poet, and with the most inoffensive good nature, a peculiar turn of original humour. He had a strong and genuine relish for the fine arts, a refined and delicate taste for literature, and a persevering and patient fondness for the pursuits of science. The compass of his conversation therefore was very extensive, and concurred with a temper social in the highest degree, to make him the delight of his friends and intimates. The keenness of his sensibility, and the rapidity of his conceptions, had given him a sense of decorum and propriety, which seemed almost intuitive. He perceived instantaneously, and felt deeply, every departure from it. But his wit and temper always led him to consider it with good humour, and to represent it with pleasantry. He had therefore a powerful talent at ridicule, and though, both from principle and disposition, he kept it under a well disciplined controul, yet it could not always avoid those resentments, which are the only defence of dullness and folly against it.

His facility in writing was proportioned to the vivacity of his mind: His letters were strongly marked with the characteristic

features of his conversation, and, by their elegance, their simplicity, their poignant wit, and unbounded variety of style might serve as models of epistolary correspondence.

As a public speaker, he also ranked high. During the six years of his service in the Congress of the United States, he took an active part in the measures and debates of the time, and as a test of his talents in this capacity, it may suffice to say, that in legislative assemblies accustomed to the eloquence of a Madison and an Ames, of a Giles and a Dexter, Mr. Murray's station was "if not first, on the very first line." It may also serve to confirm the truth of this observation, that this was the place, where his situation and conduct attracted the notice, and engaged the esteem and confidence of the first President of the United States.

In giving to the public this feeble and imperfect sketch of one of the brightest characters, which has arisen in the American Union, since the establishment of its independence, the writer must lament that the shortness of time has not allowed him to make it more worthy of the subject, and while indulging the private tear at the earthly dissolution, by the hand of death, of long-tried and affectionate friendship, he may confidently call upon the sorrows of his country, to mingle with his own, at the loss of a citizen, whose career, cut short at little more than half the ordinary period of human life, had already been signalized by attainments thus extraordinary, and by services thus pre-eminent. How few among mankind, of any time or nation, at the age of forty-two, have ever given such decisive and important pledges of the patriot's virtue, and the statesmans' wisdom, as the man to whom this tribute of attachment and respect is paid? If the love and veneration of United America be justly due to those exalted characters, under whose conduct she rose to independence, and assumed her rank among the nations, she will never be unmindful of the departed worth, which emerging at a later date into life has toiled with equal ardour, and aimed with equal devotion to strengthen her independence with the pillars of security, and to adorn her temples with the wreath of national glory.

Instructions.[1]

Department of State,
April 6, 1797.

Sir: Herewith you will receive your commission and letters of credence to the government of the Batavian republic; together with an authenticated copy of the letter of recall to your predecessor, Mr. Adams, (of which the original and duplicate have been forwarded to him) and a cypher.

[1] From the Pickering MSS.

The harmony that has subsisted between the United States of America and the United Netherlands, from the first moment of their political connection, has been grateful and useful to the former, and we trust not less so to the latter. This harmony and mutually agreeable and useful connection we wish uninterruptedly to maintain. To accomplish this object, so far as it depends upon us, will constitute a principal duty of your mission; and you will embrace every occasion to give to the Batavian republic proofs of our sincere good will.

The minister of that republic, on the 7th of September, 1796, communicated to this government the desire of his own to make some alterations in the treaty of commerce between the two nations, with a view to render it mutually more advantageous. On the 28th of the same month, Mr. Adams was instructed to inform the Dutch government of the disposition of the United States to concur in any useful amendments of the treaty, and to inquire what ameliorations were contemplated on the part of the republic; and the result of his negotiations, drawn into the form of a treaty, was to be transmitted hither for consideration, and as the subject of a message to the Senate where a formal appointment of a minister with full powers to complete the negotiation should be contemplated. Mr. Adams presented a memorial to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, making known the disposition of his government, which seems to have been gratefully received. Copies of all these papers are now delivered to you. It does not appear that any negotiation has yet taken place; probably it will be deferred to a more tranquil and settled period. If, however, the subject should be revived, you will enter upon it agreeably to the instructions to Mr. Adams, in my letter of the 28th of September, 1796. At the same time you will be pleased to understand that our treaty with the United Netherlands is considered by us as formed on such liberal principles, and contains regulations so beneficial to both parties, that we are much at a loss to conjecture what amelioration they can propose on their part. In ourselves it would be very desirable to obtain a more free commerce with the Dutch colonies; but the situation of these at present must prevent any definitive arrangements, and as already observed, it is probable this business must be deferred to a time of peace.[1]

When Mr. Adams went from this country in 1794, he was furnished with the papers and charged with a claim on account of the capture of the *Wilmington Packet* and the condemnation of her cargo, at the island of St. Martins, in the year 1793. The claimants are Jeremiah Condy and Company, of Charleston, South Carolina. A concise history of this case you will find in Mr. Adams' letter of November 1st, 1796, to this Department; and the result to that time of his repeated reclamations. With his letter I hand you copies of the note

[1] The treaty of 1782 remained unchanged until a new treaty was negotiated in 1839.

of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, dated the 27th of September last, and of his answer on the 31st of October; which, besides the case of the *Wilmington Packet* touch on the subject of the admission of consuls from the United States into the Dutch colonial ports, and on the rights of the neutral flag of the United States, which the Commission hint, we ought to vindicate and with energy maintain against the "daily insults of the English." Should the latter point be again brought into view by the Commission, you will know what answer to return.

When a revolution in the government of the United Netherlands was manifestly approaching with the progress of the arms of France, Mr. Adams expressed his solicitude for instructions how to act, in case a prospect of a change in the government was realized. On the 27th of February, 1795, instructions were sent to the following effect: That as it had been a maxim of the President towards France to follow the government of the people; that whatever regimen a majority of them should establish, was to be considered both in fact and of right, that to which our minister there should address himself: So in case of a change in the government of the United Netherlands, Mr. Adams was to make no difficulty in passing from the old to any new constitution of the people: and if the new rulers would accept his old powers he was to offer them. This course was in fact pursued by Mr. Adams on the revolution in the government of the United Netherlands. If they had required new credentials, he was to assure the government that he should write for them, not doubting they would be expedited. The circumstances of the war in Europe still leaving the ultimate political arrangements of the belligerent powers subject of conjecture, these instructions naturally occurred as proper to be recited to you for your direction in the eventual changes which may take place in the government of the United Netherlands. The rectitude of the principle adopted by the government of the United States cannot be doubted. Decided in our right to regulate our own affairs in the form and administration of our government, we acknowledge the equal right of every other independent nation; and consequently respect the government which they establish.

Your situation at the Hague will furnish you with the best opportunity of obtaining authentic intelligence of facts and of the views and designs of the rulers of the contending nations. These we shall be anxious to know, and they may be deeply interesting to the United States. You will consequently think it necessary to be watchful and diligent in collecting and communicating them, with such reflections as a nearer and more certain view of them shall suggest.

You will have a right to correspond with the ministry of the nation where you reside in your own language, and nothing important

should depend on verbal communications, which can be committed to writing. . . .[1]

I.

HELDER, *9 June, 1797.*[2]

DEAR SIR: I am this moment arrived in the ship *Good Friends* from Philadelphia after a tedious passage, north about. We left Philadelphia on this day two months.

Independently of the pleasure I feel in paying you my earliest respects I have nothing important to communicate further than that our cargo is on public account—the proceeds of it for your old and troublesome correspondents the bankers.

Tomorrow night or next day certainly I shall be in Amsterdam, where I fear I must wait a few days for my baggage. Were it possible to see you then, it would give me very great pleasure, and besides the sooner I begin my lessons under you the better.

I find the *Neptune* has been here ten days, but as the President of the United States, your father, charged me with letters so soon before she sailed, it is probable that the pleasing assurance which I give you of his health may be the latest that you have received. I know nothing of the *posts* here and, therefore, do not send on any but mercantile letters. If your brother[3] is yet with you pray, dear sir, remember me cordially to him, and believe me to be with sentiments of great respect and sincere esteem Dear Sir yrs. etc., etc.,

Seven o'clock P. M.[4]

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[1] The instructions then go into details of salary and allowances. "A paragraph published in the Leyden Gazette intimated that the Dutch republic would be desired by that of France to refuse to admit a new minister from the United States. Should this happen it will occasion no surprise, because we know that the Dutch cannot avoid doing what the French require them to do. We shall only lament the domination which irresistably directs and controls the measures of the Batavian Convention. . . . I inclose the President's speech at the opening of the present Congress, and a pamphlet containing the documents to which he referred. You will see among them extracts of letters from Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, in which they describe the influence of France in the councils of Holland, and the consequent interference of the latter with Denmark and the United States, to urge them to protect the neutrality of their flags. It was necessary for the information of our own citizens of the principles and views of the French government towards their allies the United States, to exhibit their conduct toward other powers, and their decided ruling influence over their allies the United Netherlands. For this reason Mr. Adams' letter of November 4, 1796, and the documents to which it refers could not be omitted. Some expressions in that letter may hurt the feelings of the members of the Committee of Foreign Relations; but when undertaking to give *extracts* we could not change the language. If any thing should be said to you on this subject, you may offer this apology, and with perfect truth assure the Committee, or those who were its members, that the American government regretted the occasion which called for the publication in question; that we sincerely respect them, and sincerely lament that imperious necessity which urged them to express sentiments repugnant, as we presume, to their own ideas of propriety, as well as unpleasant to the government of the United States." Secretary of State to Murray, May 24, 1797. Pickering MSS.

[2] Murray, whose term in Congress ended on March 4, received the appointment as United States minister to Holland, March 2, 1797, and embarked for his new post early in April. "Mr. Murray, of Maryland, your old friend, with whom you formed your first acquaintance at the Hague, is to succeed you. That gentleman has been so long a member of Congress, and has given such proofs of talents, amiable dispositions, and patriotic sentiments, as to qualify him to do honor to the mission, as well as to his predecessor. It would have been enough to have said that he is well chosen to fill the place; for I have the best authority, besides my private opinion, to say, that no place has been better filled than that at the Hague, since your appointment to that mission." John Adams to John Quincy Adams, March 31, 1797. "Works of John Adams," VIII, 537.

[3] Thomas Boylson Adams, who had served as Adams' secretary of legation.

[4] Murray to McHenry, June 9, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 227.

II.

Mr. Murray returns to Mr. Adams his valuable letter book, and particularly feels its loss when it attends the departure of its author, to whom he is indebted for so many kindly and excellent communications since his arrival at the Hague. The manuscript constitution also, together with the Treasury papers, he returns with his thanks. He has attempted to make out a manuscript passport as most respectful to Mr. Adams, but as he has no form but that in which so much unnecessary *description* is given, he wishes Mr. Adams would furnish him with one. He has Mr. Liston's [1] to himself, but that is directed to ships and commanders here. Tomorrow at half past nine he will wait upon Mr. Adams for the purpose.

Monday Evening.

III.

THURSDAY, [*June, 1797.*]

The passports with Mr. Murray's compliments and sincere wishes for a pleasant passage and genial weather to Mr. Adams and his brother. As all sorts of passports to such multifarious duties and affairs as those to which these are destined are delicate things, he hopes Mr. Adams will be assured that the *crest* on his arms has no intended reference either to our *allies*, or to the charming ally with whom a negotiation so delightful is to be opened, ratified and executed.[2]

The inclosed, if Mr. Adams has time, he can send to Mr. Peyron at Hamburg, if not, and he will put it in his pocket, Mr. M[urray] will take it at dinner.[3]

IV.

THURSDAY MORNING, 11 A. M. [*July 6, 1797.*]

DEAR SIR: This moment I received a letter and the President's speech [4] from Mr. McH[enry], the Secretary at War, of the 23 May. He says the temper is complete in favor of the measures of the President, and that among the *people* none scarcely dare breathe a sentiment of apology for the offending power.[5]

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[1] Robert Liston (1742–1836), British minister to the United States from February 17, 1796, to the peace of Amieus, when he was sent minister to the Batavian republic.

[2] Adams was on his journey to London, to be married to Louisa Catherine, daughter of Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, then United States consul at London.

[3] Murray to McHenry, June 22, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 227.

[4] May 17, 1797. In "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 1. With it were printed extracts from three of Adams' despatches. The publication caused some criticism of his conduct in Holland.

[5] "The House debated near three weeks on the address in answer to the President's speech. The address finally passed by a large majority, as I recollect, about 63 to 36, and substantially as first reported. The great objections on one side were, the expressions of decided approbation of General Washington's admin, istration, and among other parts of it, his just and impartial conduct to foreign nations: sentiments which you will readily imagine, would be opposed by those who have so zealously opposed very many important acts, executive and legislative, during that administration. The opposition on the other side, (and this occupied most of the time), was to an amendment, or rather to the amendments, proposed for the purpose of expressing the sense of the House, respecting some concessions which should be made, in order to satisfy France, viz. to put her on the same footing with England with respect to enemy's property on board neutral ships, and the extrusion of contraband to ship timber and naval stores. This amendment was finally carried in substance. The opposers had no objections to these concessions; but said it was improper to undertake to *instruct* the President in his negotiations with foreign nations. The defensive measures recommended by the President meet with opposition, and those adopted will be modified. Secretary of State to Murray, June 12, 1797. Pickering MSS.

FURTHER that, not LISBON—but BERLIN is for him who is "imprisoned by the viewless winds."[1] My wish has been that the P[resident] might get over the delicacy or rather the false delicacy of omitting him in the commission to Paris. If Berlin is seriously intended, and McH[enry] speaks of it unreservedly, it would appear that a chain of neutral relations is intended. He says that (the gentleman of whom I just spoke) "is to go to Berlin." He says "*the speech* will be echoed by both branches of Congress and the measures it recommends adopted, upon this I think you may count."

In fact his whole letter breathes comfort to us all, if we wish dignity and spirit tempered by moderation and sustained throughout by unanimity. Young Rutledge was on the Committee to answer the address, and acquitted himself most handsomely. I write in all the haste that an uncertain state of the winds naturally produces, hoping you may hear of the honors that await you, and yet wishing that the wind may have borne you forward towards England.

You can easily decypher what is excentric in the passages of this note, with my compliments of congratulation to your brother and yourself on the solid comfort of Union and wisdom in our country. Believe me to be, dear sir, with sincerity faithfully yours.

By an enclosed journal I see that Beckley[2] the clerk is turned out of the House of Representatives! a certain sign of a *majority* of good men.

V.

HAGUE, *6th (Thursday) July, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: When I wrote half an hour since I had not read any of the papers. I find in Bache[3] of the 22d May that you are nominated to the court I mentioned in my first of today. The *Aurora* of Bache again attacks the President with considerable virulence. General P[inckney] will probably be envoy extraordinary, or at the head of the commission of which I told you. The wish of the faction was to force him out that Mr. J[efferson] or Mr. M[adison] might go to Paris. They said he was too much *irritated*. The government however is firm against their plans.

I thought you ought to know of the high probability there is of a change in your destination before you got to England. The renewal of the treaty with the power in question [Prussia] is, I suppose, an object of your mission, probably also a treaty with the powers with

[1] At Maassluys. He did not reach London until July 12.

[2] John Beckley, of Virginia, defeated by one vote for reelection. In revenge he gave out the documents on which Callender made his attack upon Hamilton, and led to Hamilton's defense, "Certain observations." King, "Life and correspondence of Rufus King," II, 192.

[3] Benjamin Franklin Bache (1769–1798), a grandson of Benjamin Franklin, under whose direction the Philadelphia Aurora became one of the influential journals of the day, and a strong critic of the federal policies under Washington and Adams. A failure to recognize him socially is said to have been the source of his opposition.

whom it was long since suggested to you it would be agreeable to have ministers. Dear sir, again most truly yours respectfully.

In the communications from the President containing matter to which he refers in his speech are letters from you of 4 November, 1796, [and] part of that of 17 February, '97.

VI.

THE HAGUE, *July 7, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Hory did not send your obliging favor till this moment.[1] It is now near ten and of course this must wait till tomorrow. By nine this morning you had a few lines dated yesterday but too late for the post of last night. The new destination must strike everybody as it does myself—as a real inconvenience to you. But depend upon it, though Bache and his kennel may and probably will bark a little, your father did right in this business and will be supported in it by the American world. It is not a new grade. The excellent Washington has placed that matter upon such ground that a mere change of place with the same grade will give you no room for sensibility.

I will attend to your idea of Marbois report[2] and the loan here.[3] Could you not tell me of some most egregiously good *quid nunc* who would give me early notice of what passes in this silent canal of politics? You would do me a particular kindness, and I would endeavor to be very civil to such a gentleman.[4]

Delay and misfortune seems eternally to hang upon our ministers in their passage and to the dispatches. Because this is a time very interesting to us here, a ship, Captain Dominique of Philadelphia, after a very short passage must be run a shore at the Texel. She had on board dispatches, General Pinckney tells me today, for him and myself—and very probably for you. All the dispatches are lost. She had three feet water in the hold.

With compliments to Mr. T. B. Adams I am with the sincerest esteem, dear sir, faithfully, your servant.[5]

VII.

THE HAGUE, *9 July, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: The wind has changed this morning, and I hope you are by this time passing Goeree on your way to England. I trouble you upon the present occasion to ask the favor of you to give me any information in your power upon a case to which my attention is

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[1] Of the same day, printed in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 186. Horry was nephew of General Pinckney.

[2] On the expenses of the French department of foreign affairs. François Barbé de Marbois (1745–1837).

[3] A "voluntary" loan of twelve millions of guilders, imposed by the French upon Holland.

[4] Adams recommended Count Bielfeld, then representing Prussia at The Hague.

[5] Adams to Murray, July 8, 1797, in Adams MSS.

this morning called by a Mr. Jan Van der Werf, a merchant of Amsterdam. It is one which supports the claim of Messrs. Rotch and Sons, of Nantucket, now before the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and respects the ship *Penn*, purchased by Mr. Rotch at Havre in 1792. Sent on a whaling voyage, captured in a river near de Logod or Sogod [1] by ——— Vandyke, commander of a packet brig of the Dutch East India company called the *Star*, and carried in as prize to the Cape of Good Hope. The only paper I have is Rotch's affirmation in which he proves American citizenship, transitory residence in Europe, the property of ship and cargo to be his and part of the crews, and the capture and nature of the cargo. Perhaps you may have written upon this subject to this government and also to our own. You will oblige me much if you can find a leisure moment from better engagements, and you will give me any information respecting this business. I mean to *speak* first to Mr. V[an] Leyden.[2] I am with sincere wishes for a continuation of your present happiness truly and sincerely with esteem etc.[3]

VIII.

THE HAGUE, *30 July, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Wadsworth assured me of your safe arrival in London. I have nothing to authorize me but my good wishes in giving you my felicitations upon the event which e'er this must [have] taken place. In all events pray let my respectful compliments wait upon the ladies. Mrs. Johnson was always a very great favorite of mine. I have often had occasion to admire her wit, and always humility enough to bow to its justice. I should lament if she has forgotten. I never shall forget her polite hospitalities to a raw American. It is astonishingly true that we are surprised into a recollection that we grow old. When I left England in 1787 her young family were children. One of them at this moment is the subject of my felicitations to you as a woman grown.

Noël[4] the other day sent a note to your old friends giving the sanction of the French government to the Batavian constitution and urging its adoption. Alas even the good men are pleased with this interference! An attempt was unsuccessfully made a few days since to remove out of the way the declaration of the rights of men and citizens, though the Orangists might come in and vote—13 were for it, 40 against it. Noël was warmly for it!

Mr. Marshall will tell you with what haste I was obliged to avail myself of his opportunity.

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[1] Delagoa?

[2] Frederik van Leyden, van Westbarendrecht, secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

[3] Murray to McHenry, July 14 and 18, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 230, 243; Murray to John Adams, July 15, 1797, in Adams MSS. Adams to Murray, July 20, 1797, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, July 15, 1797, Pickering MSS.

[4] Jean François Noël (1755–), French representative at The Hague.

I am with compliments to your brother, dear sir, most sincerely with the highest esteem yours etc.[1]

IX.

THE HAGUE, *23 August, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: A few days since I wrote a few lines to tell you that the constitution has been pronounced upon by the sovereign people of Batavia and treated with a sovereign contempt. There were about four to one against it. The great Orange mass, a very few excepted, silently lay by, and secretly enjoyed the distractions of the two parties of the Patriots. The few who voted were with the Jacobins against adoption. Thousands of the laborious class who properly are with the moderates could not vote for or against, as they would not make the declaration of the rights of man. They said this declaration was *equal* to an *oath*, and they did not understand such subjects! This declaration was foreseen by the friends of the constitution as one of its greatest obstacles and an attempt was made in a very thin house to have it removed out of the way but the high revolutionists both from its actually containing their creed, or on account of its collaterally being useful to their views as a means of preventing adoption, resisted and triumphed. Mr. Noël was for the removal of this difficulty. There was at Utrecht a singular circumstance of 2200 Dutch national guards—1500 only could be induced to vote.

General Pinckney[2] and I have been mournfully disappointed in reading the debates in Congress to the 25 June which were received a few days since. Nothing, nothing I fear but the misery of experience will open the eyes of many worthy enthusiasts to the unprincipled and frightful ambition of France. From the moment I heard of the mutiny in the British fleet and the intended negotiation at Lisle,[3] upon my arrival here, I had fears lest these events should cower and benumb that exalted spirit which I was certain would prevail at the meeting of Congress. Of course you know they would feel cautious in a greater degree as soon as they found either from the then apparent termination of the war in Europe or from the crippled state of the British fleet that should war take place between United States and France, even if no alliance with Great Britain were intended, the *co-operation* of Great Britain could not be counted upon! In all my letters I have from the first hazarded the proposition and have attempted to support it—that the negotiation at

[1] Murray to John Adams, August 4, 11 and 17, 1797, in Adams MSS. Adams to Murray, August 13, 1797, in Adams MSS. Murray to McHenry, August 7 and 11, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 246, 248. Secretary of State to Murray, August 10, 1797. Pickering MSS.

[2] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825), at this time United States minister to France, but in Holland, after his rejection by the French republic.

[3] Lord Malmesbury's fruitless peace mission.

Lisle would not succeed, and that the fleet was restored to its integrity. But, sir, this infernal French disease is deeply seated in the mind in the U[nited] S[tates;] and it will long work by a thousand shapes against real Americanism. Minds tough enough to resist conviction when Batavia and almost all Italy are produced in evidence, are almost hopeless. Yet such there are!

I see that the *letter* to that Precious professor, call him Matzie[1] is considered by Webster[2] as genuine and he says he has *authority* so to consider it! But you have *faith*. I am inclined to *superstition*, but not to faith, and almost believe in the personal agency of the Devil. *His* influence, not the last gentleman's, but *yours*,[3] does I am convinced immense mischief in the Senate. I know several genteel men, with about as much of *science* as I have, that is, just enough to make them wonder that any mortal should have more, who I am sure are the dupes of his philosophising dinners, in which the almost treasonable theories of universal benevolence and philanthropy blend themselves easily with the politics of the day, and are promoted by the satisfactions of the table. These are then connected, as they are unfolded over a generous glass, with the grand and enlightened views of France, with touches upon the brilliance of her *victories*, and her gorgeous strength, and the country gentleman who went well enough inclined to give a vote for plain measures of defence and preparation, gets his head turned, and comes away a philosopher, and would not for worlds interrupt such grand designs, or longer feel sentiments that evince low prejudice and narrow views.

Baron B[ielfeld] your friend, says the King of [Prussia][4] will renew the treaty. Not a word has been said to me by men in government about the extracts of your letters. Should that be, I shall speak pretty plainly upon the "*letter of the committee*" which you inclosed. He wishes you may pass through the Hague.

You see how it is. I have been marry'd near eight years and *write long letters*—and should write longer were not poor Mrs. M. ill. She has been really very ill about a month. Heyman attends her. Had I more room I would place at a greater distance the mention of an event that stains when even mentioned. The *gentleman*[5] to whom I *brought* a *letter* and to whom you introduced me *in his lodgings* at a booksellers and who was appointed to Lisle left the Hague, and next day a writ from Haarlem against him announced publicly the charge of the crimen nefandum contra naturam. He got to Paris and has sent in his resignation to the Committee. I sent you the other day Mr. Luzac's[6] defence, doubtless you will enjoy it.

[1] Jefferson to Mazzei, April 24, 1796.
[2] Noah Webster, editor of the New York Minerva.
[3] Jefferson.
[4] Frederick William II, nephew of Frederick the Great.
[5] William Anne Lestevenon.
[6] Johan Luzac, editor of the Leyden Gazette.

He says that L'E[stevenon] was one of his great persecutors, and that his enemies are dropping off by sudden death or crimes. He always inquires affectionately for you. Pray accept my sincere wishes for the health and happiness of Mrs. Adams and yourself and believe me to be, dear sir, with true cordiality and esteem, faithfully yours.[1]

X.

THE HAGUE, *1 October, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: On the 22. September Mr. Gerry [2] arrived, in six weeks from Boston. The President had just arrived at his seat near that place. I went with Mr. G[erry] to Amsterdam to enjoy his conversation for a day, and I consider him as well made up upon the American points in contest with French ambition. He went on to Paris on the 24th. All the Commissioners are now there I hope, though to my surprise last Friday's mail brought me no letter from either Mr. Marshall or General Pinckney. As I send this by a private conveyance, Mr. Vancouver, I can safely express my fear that they will not do anything, except produce a new occasion in which the excessive injustice and ambition of the French may be made even more than ever manifest to our good countrymen in America. Indeed the renewal of hostilities is in favor of this negotiation; but I still fear that the points upon which the French government will rest and upon which they expect success are unconnected with the state of their affairs in Europe, and that they will grant nothing till the experiment for which they have so long prepared means in the U[nited] S[tates] shall have been try'd. To me it appears almost palpable that they will bring the breach of the British treaty into view in the negotiation, so as to draw the citizens of America into an issue upon the question, whether they are determined on a war with France or are willing to give up that treaty. This will probably be so introduced as to have

[1] Murray to McHenry, September 22, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 275; Murray to Pickering, September 13, 1797, in Pickering MSS.

"You have expressed those just sentiments on reading the President's speech, at the opening of the extraordinary session of Congress, which every patriotic and independent American would feel, but which you will have been mortified to find were not manifested in the proceedings of Congress. You will know perfectly well how to account for these things; and at the same time assure yourself (as in fact you do), 'that it is impossible to entertain a doubt of the union of our country on a question really of independence:' And though not invulnerable, and the calamities of war are sincerely to be deprecated, I have felt little anxiety about the final issue.

"Among the communications to Congress were some extracts from letters of Mr. John Quincy Adams, your predecessor. It would have been desirable to have let them remain concealed from the public eye, because the freedom with which he expressed his sentiments on the measures of the Batavian republic (a freedom both proper and necessary in his official letters to his own government) hazarded its displeasure. But you will have seen the urgency of making the contents of these extracts known to the citizens of the United States, to show them the necessity of firmness and preparation to prevent an impending war, or to resist and defeat hostilities, should they be commenced; while they exhibited as a beacon the pitiable *vassallage to which the Dutch were reduced by French fraternity.* I explained this matter to *Mr. Polanen*, who while he *regretted the publication*, was aware of its utility and importance to the *United States. He informed me that he had so* represented the affair *to his government.*" Secretary of State to Murray, September 30, 1797. Pickering MS.S

[2] Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814), now on the commission to France, with John Marshall and C. C. Pinckney.

the appearance of an offer, attended with some very tempting overtures for a free West India and Mediterranean trade, without the formality of an ultimate *sine qua non* keeping the negotiation open. In the mean time, under the certainty that if they fail to divide the Union upon this project, they will still be masters of contingencies and may at last do what is decent if not full right. Mr. Gerry's idea is to delay and gain time; to this there appears to me much objection. The existing war is equal to an alliance in our favor. That may end next spring, at farthest next summer. Congress will be in session about the period when they might be brought to a decisive complexion, if our negotiators urge a speedy conclusion. The public spirit in America is yet pretty high. If it has much time to cool in the midst of discussions about the comparative good of French offers, and the political obligation of a treaty which thousands can not be well acquainted with who can yet feel the gross injuries heaped upon our heads by France, it will be a difficult thing to excite it again, even after a patient negotiation shall have completely developed the views of France. The points upon which the supposed variance exists as matter of opinion, have long been discussed, and are few. The facts from which injury has arisen to us are palpable and connected with their own official acts of government. The mode of redress is pointed out by recent precedents. Upon these the will and the measure of justice may be very soon ascertained, and if a new treaty be among the subjects intended the parallel of the Treaty with G[reat] B[ritain] is at hand. If from your experience and the very mature reflection upon our affairs with France and her designs upon us you agree with me in this idea of decision, always separating this, however, from anything like a testy and petulant captiousness in the manner of proceeding, your opinion would have the greater weight I am sure with our friends at Paris. The meeting of the next Congress will certainly prove one of the most critical events that has occurred for many years in our country. The whole Union will be on tip toe for information, and some decisive information from this second negotiation. The State legislatures will be in session to the southward from the first week of November, till Xmas and the first week in January. These, depend upon it, sir, will be canvassed by both parties, and attempts made to organize State parties through them, for and against the—I had nearly said the views of France—but at all events, upon the present dispute with her. Every contrivance in the mean time will be sent over from France to convince the people of the returning love generally of France. This will be done to *abate preparations* and to prepare the public mind for the real *sine qua non*, the breach of our national engagements, and to gain time for the operation of that party difference which she will count upon ultimately as the lever by which the Union is to be overthrown.

Men who arrive here from Paris tell me, that the Directory have lately become very much disposed to accommodate matters with America—I mean Americans. They so write home and every captain fishes up a budget of this sort of trash which in five months we see circulated as recent intelligence from Europe throughout the Union. These are in their origin small things, but in their effect upon the hopes and expectations of the newspaper readers and common people are very important; and though such an act as lately took place in the five hundred reversing and annulling the amicable arrangements of Pastoret and affirming all that the Directoire had done against us, will strike many, yet the counter assertion that is circulated, of a most amicable spirit in that Directory, will have thousands of honest and predisposed believers, and will create two opinions. The reception too of the American ministers will probably be handsome and friendly and full of kindly greeting. All this without an atom of substance will tend to divide expectation, and ought to urge us to that decision in which duplicity and pretence will be stripped to the eyes of all America. If they mean to be honest and fair, which God grant, we ought to know it soon; if not, the discovery ought to be made while the spirits and expectations of the people are not fatigued. I am sensible that I am tiresome to you on this point, because I am sure that you have turned this negotiation often in your mind and seen it in all its bearings; but it has for these six weeks struck me as so very important in this point of view, particularly since the late convulsion in Paris,[1] in which our chances seem diminished, that I could but indulge myself in again soliciting your attention to the subject under this aspect of it. I will now have the pleasure of refreshing you a little with *news*.

I wrote a note last week to Mr. Hahn[2] to know when he would receive a visit from me, because some time since he told me he would be glad to see me, and wished me to send to know before hand that we might meet with the more certainty. He answered me that he was going out of town, etc., etc., and in his note began that stream of complaints and crimination against you that I have for some time, as you did, expected. He regretted that you had written so disrespectfully of Batavia without foundation; and that the President had published your letter. Last night I repeated my endeavor successfully to see him. He received me civilly, and indeed kindly, and he began with repeating the substance of his note. Said he had not seen your letter and asked me questions upon points on which he had been pretty accurately informed. I endeavored to soften as much as I could. He was extremely irritated and remarked that no foreign minister who would behave so ought to be permitted to act

[1] The *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (September 4), carried into effect by Augereau, Bonaparte's lieutenant.
[2] Jacob George Hieronymus Hahn.

as such, and that this government would certainly have demanded your recall had you remained here. I told him that you had treated of the affairs of this country, as of facts highly exemplary to America. That it was notorious that they engaged to discharge a pecuniary exaction of one hundred million to France, and that a large French army were at this moment in the country, and that you had been undoubtedly stimulated into a pretty free use of these facts, by the letter and spirit and object of a communication made by his Committee of Foreign Affairs, to you, upon the *Wilmington Packet* affair. That there were in that expressions which were far from being of a soothing nature, and that the object of those expressions (free bottoms and neutrality) was so much at variance with the very principles adhered to in it, respecting that case, that there certainly was great room for conjecture, as to the motives that actuated the government of Batavia. This I did with as much gentleness as I could. He was very far from taking ill what I said, and recurred with much warmth and seeming sorrow too that you should have written under such an impression, without speaking to him about anything that was unpleasant in the letter, of which he said he had no remembrance, except the story of the vessel.

I remarked as to a minister's writing with freedom, he must do it. He said he hoped I would not write anything like what he heard was in your letter, viz. that Batavia was but a province of France. I assured him I felt the most profound respect for the government and free people of Batavia, and should upon every occasion manifest that sentiment. He said it was very imprudent in the government of the United States to publish such remarks; for now France, if she wishes to injure America will have a strong hold upon the spirit and pride of this government and nation, and may stimulate them to unkindness against the United States by telling them see how the United States treat you! With what contempt! They openly publish to all the world that you are a province of France. That you are slaves! He averred that in all the indisposition that had led France into measures which were injurious to us, Batavia had never joined, but had all along resolved upon the most amicable course towards the United States. He was in fact extremely hurt and seemed also disappointed and sorry. This letter has been much talked of and there is much fever excited in consequence. I suffer, I can plainly see; for an unusual coolness was apparent in the Secretary and some other public men soon after its arrival here. I hope that a great good has resulted from its publication; nothing but a certainty in such a speculation can compensate for the evil which may flow from it. Not that I have any idea that it would blind them to their own interest so far as to dispose them to hostile measures; but it does certainly abate the number of our friends even

among the moderates. Upon the whole it is, both from general policy and on account of the ministers of the United States, a very hazardous thing to publish such letters. I sincerely hope that my letters may sleep in quiet in the books. I wish, if you think it proper, you would drop a line to the Secretary to point out the evil tendency of such publications. I think myself bound to do it.[1] For these two months I have endeavored to impress upon the few Dutch public men whom I know, this proposition, placed under hypothetical situations, that it is the interest of France to let Batavia remain at peace, if the United States and France quarrelled. This I have taken some pains to illustrate, and am endeavoring to collect material by which I may eventually be enabled to demonstrate it, which I shall apply according as events render it useful. Of course I do this so as to avoid exciting any idea that I expect war with France.

The commission which you gave me respecting the placaet of which you wished a copy is not executed. I wrote to Mr. Van Leyden, and spoke to Mr. Van Staphorst,[2] as soon as I had the pleasure of receiving your letter in August. I have since spoken to Mr. Van Leyden. He promised to endeavor either to get it for me, or to put me in the way of obtaining it. In vain. I have since apply'd to Mr. Havart who is of the Provincial Assembly, where by the bye the violent men have the majority of *one;* and from his activity I at length expect it. Mr. Van S[taphorst] [3] is out; so is Mr. Schimmelpenninck who resigned his seat.[4] Since the late convulsion at Paris parties are higher than usual. The agitation however is characteristic, the undulation of a canal; of the agitation of the political *ocean* they have little idea, those *interfusa intentes aequora cycladis.*[5]

On Friday week a fête in honor of "reconquered" liberty and the fall of royalisme at Paris took place in that quiet looking meadow where I suppose you have often walked; and then a few speeches in the place near the court, by the Liberty tree. The President of the Assembly addressed the troops, Dutch and French. The Dutch militia, good souls, were armed to the teeth on that day in wigs and black waistcoats, with "Pomps without guilt and bloodless swords and maces, glad chains, broad banners and broad faces." After him Mr. Noël in a cap and feathers, and scarfs, etc., etc., addressed the crowd. That army, which [*torn*] days before would have sworn by the name and follow'd the stamp of the foot of poor Pichegru, gave an echo to his fall and disgrace.

By Mr. Vancouver you will receive dispatches which Mr. Gerry brought and which he made me promise him I would keep till a

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[1] In letters to McHenry, September 22 and October 13, 1797. Adams had written to the Secretary of State on the matter, July 19, 1797. "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 40 *n.*

[2] A banker at Amsterdam, having financial connection with the United States government.

[3] Nicholas van Staphorst.

[4] Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck.

[5] Horace, Odes, I, xiv, 19, 20.

perfectly safe conveyance would ensure their delivery. You are tired, my dear sir, with so long a letter . . .[1]

XI.

THE HAGUE, *4 November, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: If we find that our letters can pass to and from Berlin to this place without inspection, it will give me the greatest pleasure and be among my best consolations, to write often and confidentially to you, and of course to hear from you. I hope you and Mrs. Adams have forgotten by this time the perfect hatefulness of a voyage by sea. I doubt whether the moral and political effects of our disposition to forget pain, be favorable to the advancement of wisdom in us, but we certainly do forget all sorts of pain sooner than we do pleasure.

The commissioners of the United States at Paris were *not* received on the 23rd October! So says Mr. Marshall to me in a letter of three or four lines, and he says he shall not be surprised if they are ordered away in a short time! He requests me to stop his Leyden *Gazette*. A most unlucky concurrence of events took place just at the time of their arrival, as things have turned out; though I had anticipated something like an advantage from those very events which one month since were contingent, and therefore I had thought available to our purposes from the importance of peace with the United States, if their real strength and resources and the nature of their strength were forcibly drawn into view, unless they had predetermined beyond a doubt. This too I calculated on; for I did not think that they would give up their experiment of dividing and revolutionising America, unless something occurred among their war affairs in Europe that would raise our importance in their eyes and make our trade and neutrality essential to their colonies. But this peace with the Emperor![2] It certainly will have very extensive effects beyond its specific conditions, and they are enough terrible. Spain, Portugal, Tuscany, the Pope and Naples are, I consider, upon melting ice. The thaw is gradual but certain in its progress. Of course ere this you have known that the philosophical minister of Portugal has been ordered to quit the French Republic.[3] It is *said*, I can not say why, that her most faithful majesty,[4] though she refused to execute the treaty signed lately at Paris by Chevalier D'Araujo, asked a delay for consideration of ten or fifteen days, and that the Directoire in the meantime receiving the treaty with the Emperor, gave no answer

[1] Murray to McHenry, October 13, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 285; Murray to John Adams, October 31, 1797, in Adams MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 26, 1797, in Adams MSS., and in part in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 217. Secretary of State to Murray, October 19, 24, November 1, 1797, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797.

[3] Antoine d'Araujo d'Azevedo.

[4] Maria I, now little more than a figurehead in the government.

but the order to her minister to leave France. Spain feels in every limb and nerve the crisis which approaches, arising from either the passage of an army of 60,000 French troops through her territories to Portugal, or from their success, should this political earthquake revolutionize Portugal. *Sic vos non vobis*—she must repeat to her people, and what can stop the French armies? If Spain do not fall by the rushing of this inflamed torrent through her kingdom, what will she be if Portugal be revolutionized, as the king of Turin (as the French papers call him) is? This last must fall even below that state of dependence in which he now lies prostrate, and all these new machines are but parts of a greater system whose springs are in Paris. These things by adding insolence to ambition and excessive vanity are against us. If, however, Great Britain do not sink under the blow preparing for her under the *arrêté* of the 28 October, and I have no doubt of her success in repelling it, and we are united, which also I do not hesitate in asserting we shall be, with the exception of a few madmen in some of the cities, they can not hurt us. The struggle would derive immense vigor from the accession of America, and *co-operation*, without alliance, would if France attack us, work out our safety cheaply and with greater conformity to the public feelings in the United States. If France dismiss this negotiation, I take for granted she will openly strike at the United States, and secretly also attempt to rouse her party there to assert her claims openly and by force. I doubt not of Union, when once her attempts and designs are unequivocal, and I feel no sort of apprehension of any evil, beyond the common calamities and expenses of war; and I do believe that the only permanent foundation of future impolitic consequences to us, would be in the probable aggrandisement of Great Britain upon the ruins of French, Spanish and Dutch colonies, which will and must in a joint maritime war fall, and fall to Great Britain.

Under these impressions I have occasionally urged upon *the member* of the Committee to whom you allude, and others, and to the Spanish Minister,[1] who is a man of reputed worth, the excessive impolicy of suffering their principal to go to war with us, or to drag them into a war contrary to their interests and wishes and justice; and hence their duty in throwing all their influence into the scales of peace and pacific negotiation. That though there was every chance from the conciliatory spirit and means of the negotiation on our part, that a renewal of friendship would be the result, yet so deeply were they involved in the consequences of a rupture, that they ought not to leave anything entirely to others in which they were eventually to be affected, and ought, therefore, to take every precaution, etc., etc., to insure success to the present negotiation. This, under an assurance that I spoke unauthorized and from a sentiment of humanity.

[1] Don Joaquin Anduaga.

In fact they feel the truth of this I believe most fully, but really everything it seems to me out of France is palsy'd.

With, and as, you, I too felt a generous feeling of sorrow in the fate of the Dutch fleet,[1] but this feeling was subdued by the reflection that in the present state of our affairs we could rejoice at no addition of power to France. I do rejoice that they behaved with the greatest gallantry. It promises future resources of independence, and, if well repeated, might show to Great Britain that even in Europe there are seamen who are a match for hers. The government here in a fortnight after voted 9,000,000 guilders to build and refit ships of war. The Orangists chuckled over their gin at this defeat. I speak of the lower sort of the people. No effect has been visible. Phlegm! phlegm! though you insist on it they have prompt sensibility. Sir, they are nervous. I however like their phlegm. It resists that horrible philosophy of which and of whose better parts it is the innocent and virtuous substitute.

Mr. Noël is certainly recalled. Chs. La Croix,[2] that gentle and forbearing republican, succeeds him. It is expected that he will add a few fresh flies to the blister plaister. Many complained that M. N[oël] wanted *energy!* The fable of his Majesty King Log is too apt not to be thought of, both on account of the frogs and of his successor. One pleasing circumstance occurs. Mr. Van der Goes [3] comes in as the Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. It is a little singular that he who was recalled from Copenhagen, as an Orangist, by Van Leyden, should be his successor as the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

There were some small, but certainly doubtful symptoms some weeks since of a little discontent with their allies. This peace, which has not been celebrated here or elsewhere, except by a few candles in a window here and there at the inns, has doubtless raised their spirits, and made them better humored. They surely feel, however, the loss of their colonies and the failure of the Lisle negotiation.

The Committee have at length sent me their note upon your letter of November, 1796. But what is more, they have sent orders to their minister Mr. Van Polanen to complain at Philadelphia, and to assert that they *are* independent and free, etc., etc., notwithstanding and nevertheless. You remember I informed you that a *member* [Hahn] had complained to me. This member asked me if I had no orders to make a communication to this government respecting this letter? I said I had not, *but that I was authorized to say that the Government of the United States felt the most sincere regret that it found itself under the necessity of making public anything to hurt their feelings*, etc., etc.

[1] At Camperdown.

[2] Charles Delacroix de Constant (1741–1805). His instructions are in Colenbrander's "Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland, 1795–1798," 140.

[3] Maarten van der Goes.

This it seems did not satisfy him, and I believe he has either from inattention to the precise import of the words I used, or other cause, told the Committee that he asked me, and I said I had nothing to say, etc., and then they sent off their order. This affair will end without bloodshed and but little of inkshed. A few words from the Secretary will pacify them I believe. I shall *say that*, which I verbally have said, in my note. As this negotiation at Paris was on foot I was bound to more gentleness than I should have been on a common occasion, though they have behaved with great decorum.

I hear nothing from America. Nothing of Blount,[1] nor of Mr. "Principles-not-men".[2] By a letter from Mr. Harper[3] of 17 July, a very clever and ingenious man in the House of Representatives and of the right sort of "principles", I find his mouthings at the Secretary[4] are laughed at. The French papers have laughed at Mun. [Monroe] also, and declare it is irrepublican in him, so to act. It may be permitted you to rejoice that wherever the President past on his way to Braintree, and on his arrival, a pointed and triumphant attention was paid him; by triumphant I mean the federal party completely manifested their superiority. So say the papers to the 2d September, and so Mr. King in his last to me. Have you seen a paper signed B——— dated the 30 June, London, by the Prussian chargé d'affaires, addressed to the Princess of Orange. It assures her, by command, that Mr. Bielfeld's intercourse is not an acknowledgment of the republic, etc. If you have not, and the one I saw was in manuscript, I will send you a copy. I have sent extracts of it to Philadelphia.

I lately received a letter from M. La Fayette,[5] near Ploën. He is a great Dutch patriot, but then he has seen nothing of the uproar for some years.

I told your friend B[ielfeld] of your kind wishes to him. He rejoiced, and I believe sincerely, though he is excessively and absurdly very French. Had you and Mrs. Adams taken us in your route we should have been sincerely happy in making ourselves personally known to her, and I should have had you know, all that pleasure and consolation derived from the unbosoming of myself to you; and chatting over this monstrous undigested scene of general decadence in European affairs—the times which seem to call for some Mahomet.

Your brother, I see, is with you. I hope he is well.

I am with sincere attachment, my dear sir, faithfully yours always.

P. S. You know Sir Robert Barclay.[6] He was examined this summer by a deputation and let go. He is here. Observe my seal;

[1] Senator William Blount of Tennessee.
[2] James Monroe.
[3] Robert Goodloe Harper.
[4] Timothy Pickering.
[5] Just released from Olmütz by the Prussians.
[6] An English agent, whose despatches are in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 357 *et seq.*

if I change it, you shall know. If you think it best you need not sign your name.[1]

XII.

15 JANUARY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The French Directory mean to extend their fingers to every vessel that they can touch and to plunder her and her cargo. If you have not seen the message of the 4th inst.[2] you will not comprehend the full extent of their piratical mode of liberating the seas. They recommend a law which shall decide the character of all vessels met at sea, as to their state of neutral or enemy, not by their flag or the ownership of the cargo, but by the single fact, if the whole or any part of the cargo be of the fabric of England or her possessions! and that no vessel, unless in storms, enter the ports of the Republic, if she have touched at an English port in her voyage!

How the northern powers will act, you know better than I do. It would be possible, *if they mean to resist*, to hold up a project which would be attractive and feasible, if they are in earnest and should the United States be driven into the war. Our strength is in the use we *may* make of South America and the West India islands. In any cooperation with an European strong marine these I consider within our power, and these are the handles of the commerce and marine of Europe. Were there a hearty marine co-operation, backed by a German (north of) military force for the frontier of France, between the forces of America, Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark, it would be possible to give the northern powers a large participation in the West India possessions. Since the discovery of America there never has been such an opportunity of altering the commercial relations of Europe. In such a *projet* America is the pivot. Success on our side without this would aggrandise Great Britain too much for us; with this, success would produce a new maritime balance which we want. Prussia might also enlarge her base of commerce and she has made a good use of her small means and would eagerly enlarge them. Unfortunately for us our real strength both from internal means and from our local position are not known to the continental powers, at all! Were they studiously developed, we must appear in a degree the arbiter of the sources of European marine strength, and a desirable ally to any power (other things co-operating) that finds itself under a necessity of undermining an enemy, or of enlarging its own marine base.

[1] From this time to 1801 Murray rarely signed his letters. Adams to Murray, November 18, 1797, in Adams MSS.; November 24, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 40*n*, 223; December 23, extract *ibid.*, 228*n*; Murray to McHenry, December 7, 1797, in Pickering MSS.; to Bourne, December 31, 1797, January 11, 1798, in Library of Congress. An extract of a letter from Washington to Murray, December 3, 1797, is in "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIII, 434*n*. Murray to John Adams, November 14, 1797, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, November 25, December 7, 29, 1797. Pickering MSS.

[2] Printed in the Redacteur, January 6. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 151. It was reported by Villers.

Were it proper to talk of a scheme of this sort as eventually good, there is not a man here who can or will set down and compare two and two to see how much they make—not one. Scarcely is there one (except a merchant or a Jew) who knows *anything* of America, though all know who is best acquainted with the limits of Juliers and of Hesse. How you got along without starving I cannot imagine. I know I pine for such men as I left in Philadelphia, and even in the village where I lived at home.

From America I hear nothing. By a French paper I see Mr. Thos. Pinckney *is in* from Charlestown.[1] This, if he is perfectly of the right sort, will break that phalanx which has brought us to the brink of war, and I believe that the late events of France will open his eyes completely. This is a good symptom, and let it console you; for rely on it, the South will get right, first from division and at length from general conviction. Then with New England we are "the Percy and the Douglass."

The yellow fever had stopt in 1 November. The quarantine which harrast us here was taken off a few days since.

By the President's speech it appears that some serious attempts are making on our frontier.[2] Of certain agents I told you in June, of philosophers who went to analyze waters and winds. Subtle scoundrels. This speech bears the genuine auspices, it demands continuance of preparation *para bellum*, etc., etc.

The French want a forced *loan* from the United States. We are not used to tribute, however disguised. This piece of intelligence I *believe* may be rely'd upon. It will work well in the United States.[3]

By the treaty of 1795 between Batavia and France they are to make common cause against enemies during *this* war. Quere: If France made war upon China, would it be *this* war or the *present war?* I try to establish the negative. De la Croix the successor to Noël says they must have a constitution, that he hates parties and will none on't, and one too like that of France. They will have one reported in a month. Will the French not pump Hamburg of its money? and will Prussia let them get into Hanover? If she do the north is lost! I am with respectful compliments to Mrs. Adams and kind remembrance to your brother, my dear sir, sincerely yours always.[4]

XIII.

THE HAGUE, *22d Jany. 1798. At night.*

DEAR SIR: The object of Mr. N[oël's] successor and of his party has at length been accomplished. A revolution took place this day here in which the moderates are overturned and many of them now

[1] As member of Congress, to fill vacancy created by William Smith's being appointed minister to Portugal.

[2] See Annual Message, November 22, 1797.

[3] An early evidence of the X, Y and Z incident.

[4] Adams' reply, dated January 27, is in Writings of John Quincy Adams, II, 240.

confined under a military guard. Messrs. Bicker, Gevers, Hahn, Jordens, Queans and de Beveren [1] (the Committee of Foreign Affairs) were arrested early this morning at their own houses and put under a strict guard in their respective houses. Twenty-one besides of the Assembly, of more moderate general views and of federal character, were also arrested, and permitted to walk about the town on their parole not to leave the Hague. Gevers, after an hour's close guard, was liberated under like restrictions. The armed burghers and the Dutch troops were the military agents in the affair.[2]

At twelve I went to the Convention, as the Assembly I considered as dissolved. They were organizing the committees anew erasing the names of the suspected, preparing or rather reading a proclamation on the court of the day, and receiving Mr. de la Croix! This gentleman, to whom every step and measure must have been perfectly unknown, accompany'd by military parade of the Dutch, entered in his costume into the body of the Convention and addressed a speech to the President and members, congratulating them on their energetic conduct and the glory that must follow. They vociferated "vive la république" in joyous huzzas, and the President read an answer which looks as if they had seen each other before, and on a vote by acclamation, gave the citizen La Croix the fraternal embrace.[3]

A Committee of Foreign Affairs is appointed of which Mr. Vandergoes is one, Vreeda [4] another, Meyer, Ploos van Amstel, and two others whose names I could not distinctly hear, provisionally, as to-morrow it is understood A DIRECTOIRE is to be appointed. Thus the way is to be shown to the people, and they *must* have the constitution prepared for them, one and indivisible.

We can as yet hear nothing. No one knows anything, there is alarm without resentment. The amusing report was in the morning that the people of Amsterdam were marching to force the Assembly to give a constitution! There was no need of this to keep the worthy citizens of this unpolitical town quiet. Apathy and 1500 armed veterans insured the RECONQUEST of LIBERTY!!!

I shall write again, dear sir, I am affectly, yours always.

XIV.

THE HAGUE, *25 January, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: The revolution is complete, a decree of Tuesday abolished all provincial federation capacities. The Assembly of Holland convened by the president of the committee of that body, confirms this on a partial meeting of seventy-three members, on short notice.

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[1] Jan Bernd Bicker, Hugo Gevers, Gerrit David Jordens, Willem Queysen and W. A. de Beveren.

[2] See Delacroix to Talleyrand, January 22, 1798, in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 177.

[3] See "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 345, 466, 467.

[4] Pieter Vreede, Caspar Meyer, A. Ploos Van Amstel. Murray to Bourne, January 23, 1798, in Library of Congress.

The other provinces can do nothing. Stupor and inertness prevail. The Constituent Assembly thins daily, twenty-four resigned on Tuesday, twenty-one were arrested as I mentioned on Monday; of whom, one, Pasteur [1] is in close imprisonment, it is said, for having demanded to have his name *published* in the list of the arrested, as he was proud of such company. He would not subscribe the declaration of hatred against federalism and aristocracy; and six the Committee, are out 5,[2] all but Gevers, under guard. He was liberated after two hours on the terms of the twenty-one arrested to the Hague.

I send you the proclamation. It was sent to me by a young man who is in the office of the new provisional Committee of Foreign Affairs, to inform me from the Assembly that a change had taken place. This I understand was done to all the diplomatic body.

About a month since I heard that there existed an intention to seize Mr. Bicker in particular, and all the committee, and transport them. A few days before Monday these gentlemen were warned to make the most of their time. Hahn said the country was with them. He had a surprising notion that the country was independent and loved its revolutionists. The people on the contrary care but little for this affair. The gentlemen in the provinces alone will feel. I can not express myself with prudence, but you know who is the director of these scenes and these performances. This is beyond doubt and is scarcely affected to be concealed. A charge against the Committee is that they sent De Winter [3] out, contrary to the opinion of the Directoire of France.

The *Directiore Batave* to-day took the oath and made a speech in the Assembly. Four only entered. They are Messrs. Vreede, Fynje, Van Langen, Wilderick and Vocker.[4] It is said Dandaels declined to be one.[5]

All the troops are under Joubert,[6] lately arrived, except the Hague garrison, subject to the orders of the Assembly. I suppose now of the Directoire.

They now speak more openly of the intended invasion of England.

It is to you as to me a great pleasure to see (I have only *heard* from those who have seen) the unanimity of Congress on the President's dignify'd speech.[7] His remarks on the dissolved state of the law of nations gives some irritation; they are perfectly just, and truth though essential to the safety of our country is death to the politicians of the new order, the damned illuminated. There are occasions in

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[1] J. D. Pasteur.

[2] The MS. is not clear, but he probably meant to say that five of a committee of six, etc.

[3] Jan Willem de Winter.

[4] Wybo Fynje, Stephanus Jacobus van Langen, Barent Wildrik, and Johan Pieter Fokker.

[5] Hermann Willem Daendels (1762–1818).

[6] Barthélemy Catherine Joubert (1769–1799).

[7] Annual Message, November 22, 1797. "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I. 250.

which naked execrations like naked truth are sweet to me, and not indecent!

I cannot write freely of course. I hear not from Paris. From thence I heard but drops; these have been hot lead, however, bold enough, but scalding. "They are not received and will not be," is all I can hear. Bourne [1] writes me that from all he can gather from our papers, as late as 5 December (I have none later than 20 November), he expects our Ministers will *be recalled* immediately. I lately sent on a thick pacquet to Mr. Marshall.

God bless, my dear sir, and save our country.[2]

XV.

THE HAGUE, *3 February, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: All the letters which you mention, viz. 18. Nov., 24 *Ibd.*, and 23 Dec., together of course with your last 27 Jany., came safely. That they were in a very accessible envelope made me a little doubtful on the inspection which I do suspect letters undergo sometimes. Let me do justice when I am wrong. I think I mentioned a toast lately given at Mr. La Croix's. I was wrong. It was not of that *imprecatory* spirit (if there is such a word, and I am sure I do not wish to be a coiner of any currency whatever), but was a wish for peace. So, my conscience eased and your pardon obtained for the pain excited by the exercise of any of the hostile emotions, I am at ease on that head.

I can not write with perfect freedom on the subject of the revolution here. It is in its spirit, in its mode of accomplishment, in the agents who were the ostensible performers, in its object and consequences, all that you have, before now, supposed!!! It is as entire a piece as was ever play'd off. You know the author of it that Bona Dea,[3] whose lewd priesthood ravage the earth, and into whose mysteries it is death to intrude, and whose name even can not be uttered upon some occasions. She did it.

Sometime, I think, the last of October last fall a French gentleman arrived here (his name you shall have on some other occasion).[4] He was soon known to be the confidential agent of the French, and that his *object* was to explore this country, its parties, and the causes why the constitution issued in August failed, and to report his "collected secrets" to Bona [France]. She wished to know how power could be better concentrated for her use, the shortest method of doing this, and the probable degree of opposition, if attempted. He soon assorted himself with the most *energetic* spirits, and it was then re-

[1] Sylvanus Bourne, United States consul at Amsterdam.

[2] Adams to Murray, January 30, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, February 3, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

[3] France.

See p. 374, *infra*.

solved that the man,[1] whom Burke speaks of as a member and a worthy one of our profession (in his third letter [2]), should delay his arrival here till the plan was digested by [France] upon the materials which this voyager should report; and that as soon as the whole should be arranged at Paris, and communicated to the brethren here, that then the *lawyer* should come. Noël, poor Noël, fitter for an honester scheme of things, soon grew very jealous of this gentleman, who really has what are called parts at Paris. It past in a whisper as far back as the first week in December, that a plot was forming by *this gentleman*, and another of domestic growth against the moderates. That there was to be an 18 Fructidor in which the moderates were to fall; and it was then said, but really in a whisper that put liberty and virtue out of countenance, that Mr. Bicker in particular would be transported and the whole committee probably. It appeared to be treason to speak aloud of a conspiracy! In the meantime additional French troops began to thicken at the Hague. A number of gentlemen at the head of which was Mr. Vreede published their political creed, of unity and indivisibility, etc., etc., and democracy. Hahn and others who are of those principles were invited by their friends to publish also their creed, which *quoad* the two great points is conformable to that published. They refused, saying they would not separate from their friends. This was very handsome. That the Assembly must form a constitution and not a party do it. Soon after Mr. La Croix arrived. He explicitly announced in company that they must have a constitution, of unity, etc., etc. He said to a gentleman, who told me, that if the *member*, your *friend*,[3] would not fall in with his plan it should be done with [out] him—*i. e.* the Revolution should take place without his share in it.

The Directoire is appointed since my last of, I think, 22 or 23 January. Messrs. Vreede, Van Langen, Wybo Finje, Wilderick and Fokker are the Directoire intermediam. We had a diplomatic day on Wednesday last. We were invited by a circular by the President of the Constituent Assembly (of course it is a Constituent Assembly) to his cabinet. He received us very politely and addressed a speech thus, "Citoyen La Croix, Ministre plenipotentaire de la grande République Française and Messieurs," first addressing Mr. La Croix, and then bowing round to the "mob of gentlemen." Citoyen instantly answered for the mob of ministers, though Löwenhielm,[4] the oldest diplomat, was present. I had *supposed* that something would be addressed to us all generally, and something perhaps particularly to each, and had written what I intended to say and then to deliver it to the President; but so pointed an exclusion, I, of course,

[1] Charles de la Croix.
[2] "Letters on a Regicide Peace."
[3] Hahn.
[4] Swedish minister at The Hague.

as were the others, was silent. The same passed at the Directorial *Palace* (the Amsterdam House in the plain), only citoyen first addressed the President of the Directoire, Mr. Vreede, who *answered him*, in a written speech, and *Messrs.* In this answer, at the time, I remarked to the Sardinian chargé d'affaires, Bossi, that the harmony and good intelligence pledged to the friendly powers was not extended to the United States. He thought I had mistaken. The speech, however, sent by the Directoire to the corps today, has it as I understood it when delivered. I have answered Mr. Buys's[1] note and inclose you a copy, and wish your opinion upon the question, on which I confess I did not long hesitate, whether I should notice the omission of America in the respect mentioned. If it were intentional and in the spirit of Batavian candor, then it is a part of Bona's [France's] machination. If mere omission from the habit of rounding a period with "the powers of Europe," it is time that one of the first nations in the world, though out of Europe, should be recognized in such diplomatic ceremony. I accordingly noticed it.

You were right. To resent something which the *Citizen*[2] has said of the terrible republic, in order to exculpate himself on the affair of the Dutch fleet at the Cape, as well as to remove out of the way one rival more as he related to the parties of this place, the citizen was arrested and is now under a military guard. Several of the arrested are to be carry'd tonight to the *House in the wood*,[3] for confinement, under strong guard, A singular lot! No revolutionist ought to have given to the Prince of Orange an occasion of triumph such as this, nor to the superstitious such an evidence in the cause of exiled princes.

You take Luzac's paper[4] I presume, and have seen the proclamation. The mission to the Provinces of the 23d I can not get. It prostrates all root and branch of the provincial capacities, as *provinces*. Since the provinces have kissed the rod and acknowledged the superintending power of the Assembly, Brabant, indeed qualify'd hers by something like a protest, most was respected then. Several more members have been arrested, and some of those arrested but at large put into close confinement.

I hear not from America, except my brother, who tells me that the crops of wheat and corn are greater than ever known, but no news. The President's speech I have seen and it pleases me as much as it irritates the thieves and armed philosophers everywhere. But I have not seen the answers, of which I hear an excellent character. No, sir,

[1] Willem Buys. "I remember Buys very well. I heard him once at a club dinner make (read) a brilliant harangue against the seven or nine headed hydra. The dinner at that time was given upon the occasion of the decree passed upon the return of Vreede and Van Hooff from their patriotic mission to Paris. You recollect that affair. Ought it to raise a smile or a tear to see now Vreede President of the Directory and Van Hooff imprisoned as a malefactor?" Adams to Murray, 13 February, 1798.

[2] Hahn.

[3] Former residence of the Prince of Orange, near The Hague.

[4] The Gazette de Leyde.

I am not too sanguine. We shall be united. But I am convinced we must do more than *defend* ourselves. We must inflict pains and horrors, if [we] would be hereafter at peace and save our excellent constitutions from the pestilence of the spoiler and poisoner, and we *can*. Irksome I know it will be at first, almost unnatural; but necessity will force us to take the physic and to go into the co-operation of *marine forces*. Without treaty even in this way we can and ought to shake every commercial marine of enemy powers in their foundation, and you know that we can command a wide portion of that foundation. Calculate the actual and potential force (marine) of all these powers, and you will find the thing wants but minds rising to the greatness of the undertaking and convinced of its utility, if accomplished.

All things considered, viz. (part of them) the prostration of the marine in Europe against us; the bitterness of the wrongs we have suffered; the profoundly planned system of violence which the enemy of the human race has conceived against our liberties and independence; the insolence with which she uncovered these designs; the vigor of the United States; the marine in their power; their local situation upon the very turnpike of almost all the commerce of Europe; their relation to S. America! The utter dependence of the islands arising from the weakness of the mother country marine, which would else supply them—Yes, we can *at this moment* (but not again for five centuries perhaps) transfer or revolutionize all the colonies of Europe hostile to the United States. The value of this to the United States would be ten times the cost in a free West Indian and South American trade, besides the crippling of a foe. So far from having fears, I assure you I feel a pride which rises as the occasion advances. Farewell. P[inckney]'s amendment I have not seen, but I do not like it.[1] It is exactly in Madison's neutral way. Black or white are the only colors for our members, no grey should be worn. Yours, dear sir, truly.

FEBRUARY, '98. HAGUE.

P. S. The members sent last night to the House in the wood, among others are Bicker, Mist,[2] De Citters[3]—Hahn not.

Do you know Mr. Fynje,[4] a Director (pronounced as if Fyngee)? I sat next him a few days since, at Bosset's. He told me he knew the President, and spoke respectfully of him. He seems a man of letters and was pleasant. It is remarkable that at the Directorial Palace on Wednesday Baron B[ielfeld] was among the diplomats. He is not one, he is an unacknowledged man who never asked to be acknowledged. Your friend B. is of the modern school. I hear

[1] Annals of Congress, 5th Cong., 645.

[2] Jacob Abraham Witenhage de Mist.

[3] Albert Johan de Sitter.

[4] Perhaps of the banking house of De la lande and Fynje, interested in the American loans. The house had failed some ten years before.

nothing from Paris. You know that D'Araujo is in the Temple. It has been reported that Noël is, also. I am not sure but our Triumviri will grace the last dungeon of Lewis 16. It would be quite of course and natural. Do you know Mr. Boncarrère,[1] a French gentleman, lately in Holland? As to the Natchez and the cockades there, it was first published in our papers that the insurrection was at the Natchez, but it was a mistake. These on the contrary are devoted to the government and people of the United States, and with difficulty restrained from driving the Spaniards off by force.

It was at Kaskaskias, in the northwest territory, where about fifty whiskey patriots, negroes and indians, stimulated by some philosophical *travellers* whom I mentioned to you, raised the rag of rebellion. Wilkinson has before this adjusted these theories a little more to duty. I have for many months spoken upon the profound plans of France to the minister of the same nation here [Noël], who is a worthy and true. I believe he has been convinced at last, and deeply laments. He is aware of the danger of letting in the go-betweens on the Mississippi. He has offended our great diplomat by interceding for the moderates arrested. A proclamation of today, a poor one, announces the confinement of your friend Bicker to the Castle of Loevestein—memorable as the prison of Grotius[2]—till the war ends. It will not end in five years.

It is said that more than a million guilders have gone in bribes at Paris and at the Hague. Some day I may tell names, but it is a possible history of parties. I saw the American Minister today; he inquired for you very kindly.

General Eustace[3] is arrested and in confinement and his papers all and his trunk sent to the Hague for legal adjudication! he has just written to me.[4]

XVI.

THE HAGUE, *20 February, '98.*

DEAR SIR:

. . . . . .

Yes, the gentleman of whom you speak[5] was to have been Genet's predecessor. He so told me, and it was so said in 1792 in our papers. I had a long conversation with him before he left this for Paris. He told me that it was probable that France detained our ministers till a peace with England. This he mentioned as a kind intention in France; and on my saying, suppose when war is thus over here, we do not like the terms of France? He absolutely laughed outright. We were alone in my room.

[1] Guillaume Bonnecarrère (1754–1825), a French adventurer, and possibly the agent referred to on p. 370, *supra*.

[2] In 1617. The castle is near Gorcum [Gorinchem].

[3] John Skey Eustace, aid to Major General Charles Lee in the War of Independence. See King to Murray, March 31, 1798, in King, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 294.

[4] Adams to Murray, February 10, 13, 1798, in Adams MSS.

[5] Bonnecarrère.

Diplomacy! there is none it seems to me in Europe. It is a drill corps of revolutionists in which the fujal (or feugle) is the sergeant republic. No principles, and it seems to me little learning, that little merely the tinge which the old corps left in the cask. "*Diu imbuta.*"[1] Doubtless this corps were formerly great hyprocrites, but hyprocrisy is the flattery of goodness. It acknowledges virtue, and presupposes its existence in the great tribunal of public opinion. But now, wicked men are not good enough to be even hyprocrites! The *meliora video proboque* is not even pretended. Distinctions are almost deny'd to exist, and as physicians say of diseases of which they are not sure when they attend the patient, they "fight at symptoms," act on occasions without a clue, and as if such indications were not absolutely connected with an organized system whose general laws were not known.

I do not know if the late revolution here will affect our diplomacy. You meant at this place, I supposed. If France and America come to blows, then my fate, I should fear (for I hate the ocean, and two voyages in one year), would be pretty plainly indicated by the alliance between France and Britain. I have asked what I am to do in such case, of Col. P[ickering].

I lately hear from him, or rather today received duplicates of 1 November and 25 November, with the answers, the first I have seen. That of the *Senate* is excellent in many of its points. I immediately scored them and sent them to our excellent Mr. Luzac.

From Paris I also hear.

On the 17 January they finished a very long letter to Monsr. Talleyrand.[2] A short extract was sent to me to forward on—it was the conclusion—mild and affecting, and admirable for the nerves of America. I dare say the whole was excellent. I have not seen much of General P[inckney]'s or G[erry]'s or Marshall's writing; but I consider Marshall, whom I have heard speak on a great subject, as one of the most powerful reasoners I ever met with either in public or in print. Reasoning in such cases will have a fine effect in America, but to depend upon it in Europe is really to place Quixote with Ginès de Passamonte and among the men of the world whom he reasoned with, and so sublimely, on their way to the galleys.[3] They answer him you know with stones and blows, though the knight is an *armed* as well as an eloquent knight. This letter was delivered on the 31 January, and was not answered on the 11th. They will, I believe, soon demand passports, if that letter has not its desired effect. The French government will, I conclude, endeavor to amuse them by hopes till the crisis with England is over, in some way or other. The plan is three Republics, Scotland, Ireland, England. Ireland

[1] *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.* Horace.

[2] Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 169.

[3] Don Quixote, Book III, chapt. viii.

does certainly afford to them much temptation. The bayonet alone preserves property there from universal pillage. These are fine new materials to make an *Irish republic!* Dear God!

Denmark is certainly remonstrating against the plunder law of last month. Here also there is a movement against it. I mean to present a short memorial to the Secretary Buys on this law for interposition and to show its impolicy. They may be urged perhaps to the same by France, though they are *against* the law anxiously.

In October our bankers agreed with me to honor Mr. De Wolfe's drafts for the Antwerp interest of 1 December. In November I received bills to the amount of the interest and indorsed them over to the Banker for the use of the United States. Bourne is perfectly right, and Williams [1] also. I respect both. Tench Coxe is no longer Commissioner of the Revenue.[2] I hear he was removed. Eustace, on my application, is liberated, was ordered to quit the republic in seventy-two hours. I again apply'd; he is to stay till a ship goes to New York. In a letter seven days after his arrest he renounces all his heresies, to me. I am, dear sir, always truly.

N. B. The Assembly has just passed a law, that "whoever refuses to accept any office in this country shall be banished"! The Agent of Marine (for they are too good republicans to say monsieur or *minister*) refused twice to accept. The third time he attended to the old warning—and accepted. He was at the head of the FINANCE of the Marine Committee formerly. Pray enclose your letters more securely—with seals inside the envelope.[3]

XVII.

HAGUE, *24 February, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: By a French paper it appears that Tallien [4] has moved, that, all neutral vessels be brought in for examination, and all neutral vessels, found armed, be taken as prize! This I hear will succeed; it is proceeding naturally from premises established. If they have a right to take neutral property in neutral bottoms on the proof of the *single fact* that the goods came from England, they have the incident right of taking by force, and of considering every armed neutral as a smuggler, whose very arming is *prima facie* evidence of a design to defraud them of their rights. This motion is ordered to be printed and committed, and will succeed! This motion deserves transmission to our government. I am, my dear sir, sincerely and always yours, etc.[5]

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[1] Samuel Williams, appointed consul at London.

[2] (1755–1824.)

[3] Adams to Murray, February 23, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 264*n*.

[4] Jean-Lambert Tallien (1767–1820). On the decree see "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 257–265.

[5] Adams to Murray, March 3, 1798, in Adams MSS.; March 6, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 265. Secretary of State to Murray (two letters), February 26, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

XVIII.

THE HAGUE, *March 3, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: The day before yesterday I received from General Pinckney a copy of the memorial of the government of France, of which I had spoken to you, which I mean to send on to Colonel Pickering. It is a long one, and is perhaps as perfect and well methodized an arrangement of all the arguments of weight which abound in Colonel Pickering's letter, Curtius and Camillus, as can be made. Much of the argumentation is so managed as by being placed in better bearings and points of sight seems original and irresistible—it is almost demonstration indeed, and throughout is most neatly written. The *affectionate* passages are the least worthy of a place in such a work at such a time; but these may do good with us, many of whom love this sort of national pap exceedingly.

Yes, it is indeed time to come to a point. Mr. Bourne writes me yesterday that he had seen very late American papers (I have seen none later than November!!) and finds that Congress put off the consideration of commercial defensive measures till the 9 February; by which time they expected to of something decisive from the envoys at Paris, and that the *party* argued against defensive steps, because, pending the negotiation these might offend France! Was there ever anything like this?

I have taken upon me to present a memorial here (last week) on the law of 18 January of France, respecting British goods (neutral property) in neutral vessels, stating some facts and arguments on the point solely of the law's impolicy, as its operation would affect the interests of France deeply and promote British navigation—nothing on the principles of the law as these affect the rights of neutral nations, out of respect to the Directory as an ally of France—and calling on these for their interposition of their counsels with France, to demonstrate the impolicy and inefficacy of this law, etc., etc. From some circumstances I thought steps would soon be taken to lead them also to a similar law, and I knew that they did not like the law.

An American ship with West India produce from New York is just brought into the Texel as a prize, under the law of France of 18 January, and will probably be condemned by the French consul. I mean to see Mr. Buys today, and to require some explanation of the intentions of this government on the question, whether they mean to permit a foreign tribunal to condemn American property, or try it? 2dly. Whether they mean to permit American vessels to be brought in as prize and try'd under the law of 18 January of France? I shall afterwards have this officially. A Mr. and Mrs. Baer have just arrived here. Do you know them? They are Americans. Dear sir, I am affectionately yours always.

Have you seen the address to neutrals in the *Ami de Loi* and Rédacteur of 23 February—evidently the work of the French government? A most precious thing it is.

I have just returned from an interview with Mr. Buys on these points: Do the government mean to suffer a French consul to try and condemn American vessels, on any pretence, in these dominions? 2. Do they mean to give operation to the French law of 18 January against British merchandise in neutral bottoms in this country, by suffering French consuls to try and condemn. He wished, as I expressed the wish also, to consult the Directoire. My reason for speaking before I wrote is obvious, considering the ticklish form of the questions, and the present stage of their endeavors at Paris to obtain a revision of the hostile law. On Wednesday I am to have an answer.

Fagel's [1] library will be sold. I will let you know when old Berkenroede's will be sold, in about fifteen days. Give me your commands. Damen wishes to know what is to be done with your goods and chattels which he had to manage? Yours of 23 February safely received, and Mr. Gerry's will go by post.

Note. Past here, the president of the Society of United Irishmen of Munster, with despatches for the French Directoire—about fifteen days since.

Mr. Childs,[2] the consul named for Genoa, goes to Berlin. I beg leave to commend him to you as a good American, safe, and a gentlemanlike man. He is now at Leipsig.

To Timothy Pickering.[3]

March 8, 1798.

. . . . . .

In a private letter I may venture to speak of individuals who may have *some* effect upon public opinion. *General Eustace who* [4] has been ordered to *quit this nation* in a few days sets *off to America.* He did not live at this place; and in consequence of expressions which I heard he was in the habit of using *against the government of the United States,* I paid him not the smallest attention. *He had* expressed his intention of giving *up his citizenship. I considered* him as a weak enthusiast, very *self-important.*

On *his arrest* I did not attend to him till I received a letter from him, *acknowledging his errors,* upon his determination respecting *citizenship,* and his opinions respecting *the French.* On this he has completely satisfied me, that though his conviction is sincere, it was

[1] The Fagels were followers of the Prince of Orange, and Hendrik Fagel had been sent to England as his agent, remaining there.

[2] Francis Childs.

[3] From the Pickering MSS.

In cypher, as are the other passages printed in italics in this letter.

in a great degree forced. He assured me it was much owing *to Mr. Harper's pamphlet.*

As I knew that he meant to go to *America, and had* to a certain degree attracted attention there; and would from his *manners* excite more, as well from a motive, if possible, of *firing his mind with truth* and genuine *American zeal,* I invited him to dine with me *at Rotterdam* because he was not *suffered to come here.* I knew also that he must *possess much of the secrets of American Jacobins* in Europe. I was not disappointed, particularly in my last object. As to the first, time only can show how far I was instrumental. The last was of most importance, and I think, sir, that if *he be a little attended to,* as he has a good *deal of vanity, he will give some information of consequence* respecting several *dark particulars of the southwestern* and *western plots of Adet, Fulton, Waldron* and others. Of the second, *he has* a paper (a copy) of some importance as adding evidence to evidence. He can give much information respecting the *public* affairs and private incidents which gave to these a strange complexion at *Paris* from the spring 1793 till 1795. Though I am sure that *he cannot hurt the United States,* yet I thought that such *a convert* might be extremely useful at this moment. It may be useful for obtaining all the intelligence *that he* [*a line appears to have been omitted here*[1]] to mention that *Mr. Vining is his old friend.* Formerly *he admired the leaders* of opposition. It is right also, sir, to *inform you* that *he keeps a journal of things and of conversation, and is apt to publish private correspondence.*

I shall give *him a letter to Mr. Harper,* to whom, if you please, you can communicate anything in this letter. *He published* his *correpondence with Mr. King. A love of distinction* through *small means* is the principal cause of all *his actions,* and in such hands as you can *put him will be a clue to all he knows.*[2]

XIX.

THE HAGUE, *12 March, 1798.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have received all your letters of which you speak, viz: 10, 13, 23 February, and 3 and 6 March, your last. I am in every letter to you restrained by the salutary fear of inspection, for never were political morals more worn out than at this moment of European liberty, which is not the right of doing what is proper, but whatever those in power please—the old despotism new dramatized. Under this restraint I feel a shelter for the rude, indigested-

[1] Note by Pickering.

[2] "*Private.* I have received your private letter of March 8th and showed it to Mr. Harper. The character of *General Eustace* is, I find, perfectly well known in America. It is *too unprincipled to be relied on.* His information, however, concerning the *Jacobins* may be useful. Your endeavors to make an impression upon his heart, with a view to his *reformation,* corresponds with the goodness of *your own,* and the temper of *a Christian;* and the heart of such a man is not discouraged by the doubtfulness of the effect." Pickering to Murray, May 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

ness of my *projet* of 15 January, which is far from that maturity in my own mind which ought to justify a declared system. Yet do I conceive that this plan has some strong points.

The basis is, that it is our interest to divide the *West Indian colonies*[1] if any are taken by joint means among the *combined* powers; that we shall be forced to a war with *France;* that a co-operation will be a consequence, and one too not hurtful to the United States, if the object I have in view can be attained at the end of the war; that these *colonies* must fall, if we have a war, and not to the United States certainly, as not being desirable, and as placing us too much on a dependence for their safety on Great Britain, besides the incompatibility of colonies with the genius of both government and nation; that in this view of what will probably happen we might convert what I think the probable conquests to auxiliary purposes, in raising friendships and a co-operation against the enemy on the continent. To this some things appear to assist us in producing predisposing sentiments, hostile to France, viz. the state of Europe after the treaty of Rastadt.[2] The discontents in all the countries conquered by or affiliated to France, and the loss of character and decline of name which a failure in the invasion of Great Britain will be followed by all over Europe. This invasion, to be made and to fail, I consider as the great event which is to change the tide, if it be to be changed by mortal means, and to settle the destiny of Europe for ages. If it succeed Europe is lost, and the commerce too of the world. If it fail, spirit may return. While it remains uncertain, and if it go off as an impending threat, the immense imaginary power of France will continue to work mysterious miracles upon a broken hearted continent.

It struck me that the United States would be forced to war; that the northern powers would be bully'd; that to uphold their spirits some temptation, probably practicable, might turn the scale and convert them into great uses, both for the present exigency, and in political and commercial prospect.

Another thing. The Emperor will be in ten years a Mediterranean power (naval). He would in such a position have an interest in the weakening of the maritime of France; he might in time obtain an interest in these.

As to Great Britain, all that is dangerous, is (to me) that she has too much interest in our accession to such a plan; that, the fear of invasion, try'd and defeated, would be gone; that she would then

[1] Adams and Murray framed a cypher for their own use in mentioning names of countries and about a dozen words in political connection. I have not succeeded in identifying all of the signs, but shall indicate decyphered words in italics.

[2] The Congress of Rastadt opened on December 16, 1797; it was dissolved and all its acts annulled by the Emperor April 8, 1799.

contemplate the total destruction of the French marine, and as a means of preserving her continental influence she would accede to such a division, as placing [them] in hands of which she could not be jealous, and with whom she has little rivalship. The commercial result to the United States might be an increased colonial trade on the best and stipulated terms.

This plan comprehends a great scope; but indeed, my dear sir, these times demand a blow—a vast convulsion—a fundamental attack.

The views of France look south, because that is most rich and vulnerable, and because she thinks their colonies will fall to her with the parent countries. This will happen unless some great diversion be given to their falling direction. Spain and Portugal will certainly fall. Are their colonies to tumble like an heirloom with them? In fact if we could but enter into calculations extensive enough, we should I think perceive in the present career of all Europe a change, which by involving distant but all important colonies, must inevitably and deeply affect the United States. Be in the war, or yield everything dear to us, I fear we shall. If we are, we must adapt our designs to the great scale upon which all things are now proceeding. If we could obtain anything like the object which I mentioned in mine of 15 January in Europe, we should have some share in giving a direction to those colonial affairs which I take it for granted will fall some way or other.

Another thing. It seems to me that a combination against *France* would be more efficacious than it was five, four, or three years, and two years last since. Fraternity has pinched as well as squeezed. Is it not probable that if after the Armada has try'd its power, and failed, that new spirits might be cheered up; that after this defeat, to which the eyes of the world are turned, and a combination once begun again, that this combination would have more allies in all the affiliated conquered or pillaged districts and countries than fraternity had, when she first approached with soothing promises of liberty and equality? I think there is nothing wanting but a slight dam once reared, to turn her bitter waters upon herself; in such a position of things not even the *people* would be with her;—none but a few needy demagogues—they a miserable and detected set of impostors.

In all I have said, I am as conscious as you are, by this time, that I fail in a thousand details essential to the development of a *projet*. I speak to you with confidence. Those who observe profoundly can but avail of slight hints; and soonest excuse defects in a plan. I have thrown out these ideas to the Secretary. I am sensible of the hazard, but we are all soldiers in these infernal times. We must risk, and I do not consider the government as my most confidential correspondent.

In all my late letters to him, though I have not written with that precision of thought that you have done in your idea, that the excessive injury offered by Tallien's motion to neutrals is precisely our point of departure from the pacific line; yet I have constantly for months done nothing so sincerely as that of assuring him that it was quite out of the case to expect peace. I will however join with you, and with sincere conviction in your idea, and urge it; for fully, deeply am I convinced that the times will not, for years, bear a temporising policy. The call of the present hour is for the worthy and the free to bring over the unworthy and the base to their standard, or to force them into submission or to know their lot. The division must soon take place and I do trust that nothing but an effort, judicious as to its time, is wanting, to display a vast majority of the first in the United States. The delay of this distinction, practical and clear, but nurses treason against our glorious liberties and country, and prepares a hesitating public mind for the subtle poisons of a perfidious enemy. This is not speculation. All Europe is a theatre of experiment from which may be brought the result of facts, experience, to prove the necessity of decision.

I have not heard whether the change in the diplomacy, etc., etc., will take place. I think it probable. They are very inaccessible, and they are right—I suspect. I have demanded, ten days since, an explanation on these points, viz. Will the Directory suffer any foreign consul to take cognizance here of American prizes? 2ly. Will they give operation through a French consul to the law of 18 January of France, against American vessels and cargoes brought in here? No answer yet. These are pretty leading and tough questions, but necessary, as a prize under the last was brought in the Texel the last of February. Yours, my dear sir, etc., etc.

Denmark urges powerfully upon the obnoxious law of France, here and at Paris. Here also *the Dutch* are against it. *Holland* I know has ordered her minister at Paris to remonstrate. I gave a memorial on it here, for interposition, and to show if I could the impolicy of their attempting anything like it, on 24 February. The chargé of Denmark gave one in 7th of this month. These I believe are all. *He* has received an answer—I, none. My last note will produce an explanation that will in some degree ascertain the point, Will they join in the war?—one very important for our trade to know soon. That was among my leading motives. (They wait for an answer from their minister at Paris. *Confidential* except to the United States.)

The preparations are rapid at Amsterdam for the invasion. Ireland is their hope, and their best doubtless.[1]

[1] Adams to Murray, March 13, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, March 17, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

To Timothy Pickering.[1]

The Hague, *18 March, 1798.*

Private

Dear Sir: By a letter from *General Pinckney at Paris*[2] of the 10th inst. it appears that *General Pinckney, General Marshall and Mr. Gerry differ in opinion* respecting *the time* when *they* ought to *quit France. The two first are of opinion they should go* immediately; *the last* that *they should not.*

With the first I agree. In December I had a conversation with a Mr. *Bonnecarère,* who was *a secret agent of the French* Directory *here. From his conversation* and other things *I was persuaded* that the plan of France was *to detain the minister of America till peace with England,* and to avail herself of all the contingent things both in America and Europe, both before and immediately after. I gave every notice of this conversation, etc., etc., *to the minister*[3] *at Paris,* particularly to *General Pinckney.* He requests me to inform you, sir, of this *confidentially,* or I would not obtrude either the intelligence or the share my opinion and facts have had in this.

In writing a private letter I may consistently with the highest respect remark that the interest which *I have been able to create both in the Dutch government and the French minister* would be entirely and utterly destroyed, *if my correspondence is known or guessed at,* from *publication,* or *known in any manner to the Dutch minister at Philadelphia. Many members of Congress* have access to it, and may from thoughtlessness mention its coloring. *The French* are captivated by a sort of *jargon* easily assumed, and the more pardonable, *as it is their own way. Silent acquiescence* is what pleases *the Dutch, with ceremonies* and affectionate respect.

My conviction operating through duty has led me to inform you, sir, with sincerity of truth; *but were my letters known to be mine I should be sent off* very soon.

I am convinced that all the affiliated and conquered countries *groan under a military despotism* and that *France and her demagogues* are the causes of this. But it is impossible, consistently with policy, *to tell them so till war* takes place. Yet I am aware of the difficulty of availing America of examples unless they be known to the people as well as to the government, which need no light upon such a subject. *I will still do my duty,* I hope, leaving it with you, sir, to *use my humble labors* in the manner and degree best for my country's service.

The minister of Spain is much alarmed for the fate of *Spain.*

I fear that if the French do not invade Great Britain, which I hope they will attempt, they may use their naval preparations against Spain and Portugal. Yesterday the new constitution was accepted by the Assembly with great joy. A translation of it will go to Mr. Delacroix. With sincere wishes, etc.

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[1] From the Pickering MSS. [2] Cypher. [3] Thus the cypher, but the plural is probably intended.

XX.

THE HAGUE, *19 March, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 13th instant, inclosing one for ———[1], I just received safely. In my first enclosure home it shall go. Mr. Wadsworth has just arrived from England. Through letters by him, and several items from him, and all that I can in any way get, I believe that there is no probablity of the invasion's succeeding. Lord Auckland[2] I learn is publishing a pamphlet the one point in which is to prove that it is her interest and that of Europe that it be *made* and fail. This for several months I suppose to have been a general idea as I have long thought so—since the summer. Some time since it was suggested that the Emperor would mediate; I never thought effectively. If there be any reliance on the suggestion of this mediation, some extra objects of citizen Blauw's[3] embassy to Vienna may be accounted for. He went in haste about three weeks since, and this nation you know is deeply interested in immediate peace. There is a *report* that the flotilla for 10,000 men at Brest has not exactly answered its purpose. What is however very serious I think is the mutiny and open revolt of the French soldiers at Mantua and Rome. This has subsided, but its real cause is pretty general—want of pay. The reason assigned is Berthier's[4] being called away and Masséna[5] sent. If anything can humble their views it would be a flaw in the sword—out of France. My dear sir, I would have told you before B[lauw?] mentioned his idea of the intended departure, etc., etc., but I *knew* otherwise. *Your neighbor*[6] is averse to it and it is ticklish to divide. The others are point blank for it. My last of last night urges the first of them, P[inckney] to go! I have long thought that they ought to stay till in March, but to have notify'd at home that they considered themselves as off in February. In truth, sir, the whole aspect of the [negotiation] became changed after 18 January, indeed on the 4th January. The most critical moments of the war are lost, or play'd with at all events, by this delay. The state of things is demonstration—why stay?[7] You will believe me to be very seriously con-

[1] Department of State or the President.
[2] William Eden (1744–1814).
[3] Jacob Blauw.
[4] Louis-Alexandre Berthier (1753–1815).
[5] André Masséna (1758–1817).
[6] Gerry.
[7] "I am very sorry that there is a likelihood of our friends remaining at Paris, while there is no prospect of their doing any thing there. Yet if my neighbor [Gerry] persists in staying, I think he must have some reason, and a good one, for it. Indeed with the temper of our House of Representatives at home it seems of little consequence whether the Commissioners stay or go. We shall do nothing until a change in that majority takes place. I hope something from the feelings of our people, and as far as the return of our envoys may affect them, I wish it immediately to take place; but it would not do to divide. Perhaps some small and remote hope may still be cherished by remaining until the descent shall have been attempted. If it should fail with any considerable loss, it may be thought advisable to stay and be on the spot to take advantage of a moment when ill success would more forcibly recommend conciliation. I place no dependence upon this myself, yet it may have its weight." Adams to Murray, March 29, 1798.

vinced when I tell you that I believe that their destiny will be mine, and painful it will be to me: but it seems and has long [seemed] to me that, even self interest at work to prolong its own gratification and ease by the invention of excuses for delay could not form even an argument of gauze to support its wishes. The thing is too plain—it is monstrous, and from the strange mixture, accumulated and increasing insult and injury—a supplicatory *appearance*, and not even a shadow of hope entertained. If it were not too serious in its probable consequences it would appear ridiculous. If any good were expected upon grounds of very remote chance, it would be something, and though the game can rarely be worth the candle in which HONOR is sacrificed to profit, there would be some profit but here I can see no chance, no profit. Our citizens, I believe in my soul, will burst at the delay. Government, I am sure, will not like it. You know I have always abhorred political anger and war, but if it must come, the mind that is to meet it ought to have some pride and not seem to its enemy to fight with that doubtful spirit which despair assumes when driven into a corner.

I wish I had a cypher for you, but your neighbor[1] loves, and always did, to be in a minority! I knew a man once of whom it was said in our state body that he had kept in the House of Delegates thirty years, and on being asked how? He said, "Look in the votes and proceedings, and except in such and such cases (about roads in Baltimore county) you will always find me in the negative. If a measure is good, it is not asked who voted for it; if bad, the negatives can always say we were against it, we knew it would prove a bad thing!" I knew the man of whom it was said. His name was Cocky Dye, a popular man, often speaker;[2] but I will not vouch for its accuracy, as it seems to me I have heard others mention it in America. But it is in truth a true story, as hundreds act on its principle.

In my last you will perceive that 00 was West India Islands, 000 combined powers, □ was France, and △ was Great Britain.

Whatever may be the danger of inspection it is necessary that I should tell you what I think true and of great importance. Spain and France are on the point of a rupture, or Spain and Portugal are on the edge of ruin. The Spanish fleet you have seen came in. It was ordered in by an express boat. France, as I think I mentioned to you three or four weeks since, had a plan of revolutionising three or four transpyrenean provinces, Bilboa, etc., etc.,—quite a *coup*. To do this Portugal was to be attacked through Spain. Spain offered to mediate, promised any peace short of the destruction of the Independence of Portugal. France offered to give Portugal to Spain and divide the Brazils with her. Finally, about six weeks since,

[1] Gerry.

[2] Thomas Cockey Dye, of Baltimore county.

about the sailing of the Spanish fleet, France came forward with specific demands to which she required an answer immediate and unequivocal; viz. she demands Louisiana and permission to march from 50 to 80,000 men through Spain to attack Portugal. To this she requires an answer, and declares that delay or equivocation will be taken as refusal, and refusal as a breach of the treaty and a RUPTURE. Spain immediately called in her fleet, and fortunately before a brush with the British. Last autumn you knew Spain sent men towards the passes of the Pyrenees—of these she has 80,000, such as they are. I learn most confidentially that she will certainly refuse these demands. Cabarus,[1] a man of warm passions, is inflamed by the defeat of his prime object in life, the embassy at Paris. He was, three and four weeks since (after his rejection), at Amsterdam, I understand for a *loan* for Spain, and failed; and he suddenly received an order to go to Madrid. I hear that every measure dictated by self preservation is at work through the clergy to rouse all Spain to the "sticking point." If there be anything to be regretted that a rupture should happen, it is because its time is bad. It may put back the invasion of England, without which the political existence of every nation is but a lingering disease. That is the "stone to be thrown" and the giant Hypocondria dies immediately, and quiet to the nerves might be restored. I have stated these facts, on which I rely, to the Secretary of State on the afternoon of the day when I last wrote to you, about the 12 or 13. I had not heard of this when I wrote. I consider this, other things concurring as the turn of the tide, if good use were made of it.

They will have a constitution here very soon. The executive are charged to purge the voters of all such as are not of the spirit of 22d January. Their majesties the people have abundant physicking here and all through Europe. This term sovereign people seems to me intended by the philosophers of Europe as a means of rooting out royalty from the heart of man, for they first dub the people as the sovereign and call him so while they trample him in the mud of misery and contempt. I have Mun's [Monroe] book.[2] I dislike

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[1] François Cabarrus (1752–1810).

[2] "View of the conduct of the executive."

Adams to Murray, March 20, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 270; March 29, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, March 27, in Pickering MSS.

"It will be necessary immediately to publish their [envoys to France] despatches; for until the insupportable conduct of the French government as therein described shall be fully displayed, the opposition to efficacious measures of defence will be continued. We therefore wish the envoys out of France, unless they are in treaty, or shall have concluded a treaty." Secretary of State to Murray, March 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

"This day a motion was made in the House of Representatives, that the President should be requested to lay before the House all the despatches from our envoys at Paris, and their instructions. On Monday the motion is to be the subject of deliberation; no doubt it will be carried, and the President will doubtless comply with the request. Some inconveniences may result, but the evils following from the want of *universal* information among the people *of the true character of the French government* are immense, and some inconveniences and even dangers must be hazarded, *to display the* principles of that government." Secretary of State to Murray, March 30, 1798. Pickering MSS.

the principles of his party just so much as to rejoice that it is published. I do consider it a high breach of honor as between a gentleman with a secret trust and a government's rightful clothing him with that trust! He is lost. I fear unless our envoys at Paris have orders they will wait long at Paris! Adieu, dear sir.

I have received an answer to my memorial of 26 February on the piratical law. They have had it done into Dutch, and sent it to Paris to Mr. Meyer, to make the most of it—so they say.

XXI.

THE HAGUE, *3 April, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: I last night received letters of the 23d from General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall] at Paris, and unless some very extraordinary thing occurs I expect that they will be off for Bourdeaux as soon as they arrange their credit with the bankers at Amsterdam, to whom they have written on this subject. General P[inckney] tells me that they have had an *answer*[1] to their long memorial of 31 January, "weak in argument, but irritating and insulting in its style"; and that the Directoire (or Mr. T[alleyrand]) say that though the United States have not shown in the choice of their envoys as amicable a disposition as they did in the appointment of a minister to Great Britain, yet they will treat with *one* of the envoys whose presumed disposition promises the most confidence in the French government! ! ! ! This *one* is your old *neighbor*.[2] General P[inckney] says they *unanimously* agree not to accede to (so impertinent) an offer of this sort. Dupont de N[emours][3] came in afterwards and said, The Directoire, he believed, meant to send away P[inckney] and M[arshall], but there would be no rupture because they meant to keep Gerry! ! ! That they accused General P[inckney] of having exerted himself last year in getting the Royalists elected, and that this year he had but too successfully done the same in favor of the Anarchists, as electors with the choice of whom the Directoire are much enraged. The General speaks of it as a calumny, if any man believes it. So I suppose will end this negotiation!

If a rupture take place I believe that this government will *try* to remain neutral. They are daily more and more persuaded of our important trade, money, etc., etc. A few days since sixty odd of the first houses in Amsterdam and Rotterdam sent Damen with a petition in favor of the American trade, and against the French law for capturing neutral property, pointing out the ruin to this country, if it be apply'd against trade bound hither. But I shall not be surprised, nor will you, if I soon date a letter from the Helder.

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[1] See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 188.

[2] Gerry.

[3] Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours (1739–1817).

You have at a stroke dashed my *projet* through and through. Certainly I did not predicate upon a supposed understanding and energy in other powers; still with a paternal bias I do think there are parts of this plan that war would render a respectable subject for reflection, and I suppose every projector feels the same. Whiston probably thought that he was right and nature wrong when his prophecy failed, and he outlived its period.

The Cisalpines are in a precious pickle. They refuse to ratify an hideous, but natural treaty, and Messrs. their Lords paramount have ordered a considerable part of the council of Ancients and two (I think) of the Directoire into arrest. The rights of conquest revert to France, and she will now treat them as they merit. She will teach them that they are but the artists who are to adorn her statue of liberty, and they must dress it out according to her taste. You observe that in the capitulation of Berne they agree to accept "the constitution *redigée* at Paris for all the Helvetic country"! My sorrow and indeed my indignation at all this cruel and barbarous mummery are abated by the operation which it must have in exciting the public mind in America.

A Captain Lindsay brought me my letters from Paris. He dined with General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall], but did not see Mr. G[erry] who he said was out at Mr. Skipwith's [1]—I suppose philosophising. My dear sir, I am always most sincerely and truly yours, etc., etc.

Count Löwenhielm [2] has (on 21) given a note to Mr. Delacroix on the piratical law of 18. January—by order of his court. No answer from Paris yet, on mine of 26 February to this government.[3]

XXII.

T[HE] H[AGUE,] *13 April, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: On Wednesday I had the honor to receive a letter from the President of the United States, of the 3d February, and though short it was highly consolatory, as it proved in its expressions of kind approbation that his ancient partiality for me from a young man, I have still the honor of possessing. Praise from such a pen would in seasons of tranquility be honor; but in such times as these, when the mind turns with anxious confidence towards those great and try'd men who are to preserve the great principles of liberty and social happiness from the wreck of the present moment, it is indeed consolation as well as honor. He writes also with the cheerful spirit of confidence in the success of the good and virtuous men who are

[1] Fulwar Skipwith.

[2] Gustave-Charles-Frédéric Löwenhielm (1771–1856), representative of Sweden at The Hague.

[3] Adams to Murray, April 11, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 273. Murray to McHenry, April 12, 1798, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 299. Murray to John Adams, April 12, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray (two letters) April 4, 5, 10, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

now struggling with him against the follies and treachery of others, and tells me also that he had not received any intelligence from the envoys at Paris since their arrival! I am indeed sorry for this. The west winds we know may have kept back their dispatches. This brings me to *The* ENVOY Extraordinary's extraordinary situation at present at Paris, for by this time there is but ONE, though your Father made THREE. Many were called, *one* only chosen and that was the choice of the French Directory! Yes, sir, thus it is going. GERRY is to STAY, and they agree to treat with him; the others *expect* to be sent off, at least from Paris. General P[inckney] intends to try to obtain the favor of being permitted to go a little while to the south of France, on account of Miss P[inckney]'s bad health. G[erry] has told Mr. T[alleyrand] that he would stay, and T[alleyrand]'s letter is, that notwithstanding that the Executive show'd its insincerity in the present mission by the choice generally of the envoys, yet the Directory will treat with *that one* of them whose presumed opinions promise conciliatory dispositions—a thing essential in such cases, he remarks. At first, viz. 23 March, they *all*, we *now* see *apparently* only, determined to reject this insidious and most insulting offer, UNANIMOUSLY; but it seems, G[erry], who, *I* think, though he is your neighbor, sees not very far into a mill stone, determined to stay. I suppose under a firm persuasion that he will save his country, after all that has passed, after everything has been done save whipping the envoys, to demonstrate their *views*, so averse from our independence, their temper and principles so opposite to anything which the envoys would dare to accede to; and not at the moment when something decisive ought to have been known by the government; having amused them one six months, they have one other six months to play their game, masters of time and any contingencies that may turn up in Europe, or in America, and after all what can they do for Gerry? They must do something or he is ruined, for he has taken a responsibility upon himself that can be executed only by a great stroke of success, and that would indeed be glory; but every chance of that sort, to me, seems hopeless. Besides can it be supposed that though the Commission was *literally joint* and *several*, that it could be construed to give any *one* a power which was given to all three, if they all arrived? and that one elected by the Directoire under circumstances of calumny thrown on the government and obloquy upon the other two, and first named envoys? The extreme anger even to sickness into which this threw me may have darkened my vision, but I see nothing but improper things in G[erry]'s determination to separate and assume to himself in this way, and nothing but infernal consequences in America. Mr. Wadsworth sent me a few late papers. Among some which he saw at Amsterdam, he says he saw a letter of G[erry]'s to a friend at Boston

telling him how handsomely they were received at Paris, and how hopeful he is of settlement! ! ! Good God—He has mistaken the lamps of Paris for an illumination on his arrival, and the salutations of the fishwomen for a procession of chaste matrons hailing the great Pacificator![1] Indeed his foible is to mistake things of common worldly politeness for deference to his rank of which he rarely loses the idea. This is to me a thing in him more pleasant than wrong, would he but keep it from deceiving him in great affairs; but, my dear sir, G[erry] is no more fit to enter the labyrinth of even Paris as a town—alone, than an innocent is; much less formed to play a game with the political genius of that city and that labyrinth without some very steady friend at his elbow. But there he is. You know the man, and though I know that he is a very well informed one upon Congress business and of a most friendly turn of heart—good husband, father and neighbor—yet I know him so well as to say that of all men I know in America he is perhaps the least qualify'd to play a part in Paris, either among the men or the women—he is too virtuous for the last—too little acquainted with the world and with himself for the first—and could do no possible good but in a relative character as one of three envoys. However New England is right, and P[inckney] and M[arshall] will make the weaker parts of the middle and south right also when they return.

Nothing important done in Congress—a long and good debate on Nicholas's[2] proposition to reduce the salary of the ministers plenipotentiarys at Berlin, Portugal and Spain to ministers residents, and keep up those of London and Paris only as ministers plenipotentiary.[3] Excellent speeches against this. The gentleman in GREY[4]—still grey—he says that he agrees with Mr. Nicholas in principle, doubts its timeing, but goes further and says the whole diplomacy ought at a *proper time* to be abolished. Consuls will do. Foreign ministers do no good; does not wish to increase our European connections. Seems to consider a foreign minister as a means of keeping up a CONNEXION and such sort of misery. Lion,[5] a poor beast from Vermont, spits in Mr. Griswold's face in the house—56 to 48 for turning him out. But the Constitution requires two-thirds for expulsion; but G[riswold][6] canes him afterwards.

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[1] "The morning after my arrival I was waited on by the musicians of the executive, and the succeeding morning by a deputation of Poissards or fishwomen for presents. Major Rutledge was kind enough to negotiate for me, by which means I avoided the kind caresses of the ladies, and an interview with the gentlemen. They expected fifteen or twenty guineas, which each of us, according to custom, was obliged to give them. When the ladies got sight of a minister, as they did of my colleagues, they smother them with their delicate kisses. So much for the *dignity* of the corps diplomatique." Gerry, in "Life of Elbridge Gerry," II, 159*n*.

[2] John Nicholas, of Virginia and New York (1761–1819). The debate is in Annals of Congress, 5th Cong., 850.

[3] This will fail. The majority with Government seems to be six. The Senate 20 to 10. *Note by Murray.*

[4] Edward Livingston (1764–1836).

[5] Matthew Lyon (1746–1822).

[6] Roger Griswold, of Connecticut (1762–1812).

Mr. Meyer [1] has been recalled from Paris; he returned a few days since. He thinks the Directory will send a message demanding the repeal of the law against neutral trade with England. This government is in earnest, but it can supplicate only at present. I received your last, and am, my dear sir, with affectionate esteem, always yours, etc.

XXIII.

17 April, 1798.

Dear Sir: Since my last of the 13th I have received a letter from General P[inckney] at Paris, of the 8th. It discloses some particulars of importance, and one in particular which throws a clearer light on the point of view under which the United States are considered by the F[rench] Directory than anything which happened. I will mention in order the course of this affair, which I do consider as baneful in every aspect, except as it has demonstrated, or nearly demonstrated this conclusion *that France dreads a rupture with the United States*, at present.

You know that they presented their memorial. Though this was conciliatory, it was argumentative and proudly independent in its spirit—it was in truth unanswerable. The next step was, after a long delay, to know if any answer was intended; if none (so I understand it), to demand passports. An answer was at length sent—of this I informed you. During some time Mr. G[erry] (so my letter of the 8th tells me) had kept up a secret intercourse and interviews with Mr. T[alleyrand] and one of his secretaries, under an injunction not to disclose them to his colleagues. On the 3rd April it appears from the extract of the reply to T[alleyrand]'s answer [2] (which was sent to me the 14th and which I have sent on), to which the initials of the three are subscribed, that they *all* had agreed to reject the proposal of treating with *one*, and assign strong reasons—among others this: that the proposal was not accompany'd by any promise *to recede from the demand of money* (of which I had not before heard) which had been heretofore held up as the condition upon which alone they would cease to capture our vessels, nor were any principles admitted respecting the adjustment of our disputes, etc., etc. To this answer I understand they *all* agreed. I cannot know if it were *sent*. On the sixth, which I mentioned, it appears to have been known to General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall], that Mr. G[erry] had told Mr. T[alleyrand] *that he would remain;* the others, too, knowing, if one was to stay, the others were to be ordered away. It appears that very decided explanations must have taken place after this between General P[inckney] and Mr. G[erry], as he tells me he has explicitly charged him with "his duplicity," and "stated to him the evil consequences which it would produce to his country." Mr. G[erry] (he

[1] Caspar Meyer. [2] See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 191.

says), as his reason for staying, has told them that Mr. T[alleyrand] officially assured him "*that if* HE (Mr. G.) *did not stay, a rupture would be the immediate consequence.*" Here then I think we see land. Here is the point in which union and confidence unshaken in the envoys might have produced the reception of ALL, as a condition too, not as a favor, that they would as a preliminary arrest the depredations upon our trade, as the only condition upon which the envoys would stay. Do not then mistake my view of the subject. I do not believe they are convinced, or have given up a single point in their policy, but that *if there is to be a rupture* they think the present time a bad one for them and good for us; and that by keeping Mr. G[erry], without having pledged to anything but his official reception—a mere form, they are masters over the question whether there shall be a rupture or not, as suits themselves. They must have known from the calm countenance which the government and people of America have put upon all their flashy victories and threats, that there was no fear in the United States, and that the return of all the envoys would decide the councils and people of America. They knew this, and in the present state of the marine of Europe—of trade, colonies, and of their allies—they dreaded an event which might add the United States to the list of their enemies. In receiving Mr. Gerry they must calculate in oversetting the system which would have been adopted in the United States—had all returned. If they really feared a rupture, and I believe they do at present, union would have obtained the reception of *all*. If they did not fear it, they would have suffered *all* to go, and been *silent* if *they* meant to make it, and have so arranged as to make it on the departure of the envoys; but they do fear it at present, or they would not keep Mr. G[erry], and they wisely avoid the rupture at present in a mode that puts it and other events within their election, without a single sacrifice, or one concession, or promise, or ground even hinted at for an accommodation.

Had Mr. G[erry] said no, I dared not take this separate responsibility upon myself without an equivalent; afford me a defence, for this hazard, in breaking the commission; enable me to say to the President, I have done so because they have previously stipulated to recall the hostile orders for the capture of our vessels—and recalled them—and I will go at a moment's warning if I find they are not recalled, or if another vessel be condemned or harrassed, and so concerted with his colleagues, it would have been an apology for hazarding such a crisis in our affairs. I have so written to him, candidly telling him how widely we differ. This I thought due to him, because I have informed the government of the *public facts*, viz. his determination and what I conceive to have led the French government to adopt this line of policy.

The American ship *Farmer*, Captain Macullem, Philadelphia, with sugar and coffee to the value of 150,000 dollars, bound for Amsterdam was taken on the 15, six miles off Helvoet, and carry'd in as a prize by a little one gunned French privateer of Dunkirk! Captain here today. I wrote to government, and went to Mr. Buys. He asked me the species of cargo, and if from a British island? spoke of the proclamation of September, (I suppose) 1796, as if that had anything to do on the question; will you let a French consul here try American property and execute your laws? I may write till I am blind in the present relations, etc., etc., etc. Mr. B[uys] goes to Paris to replace Mr. Meyer recalled. I *believe* he goes on that part of the treaty of 1795 which promises the Dutch an equivalent at the end of the war for her cessions in Brabant, etc., etc., to France, and that this equivalent will probably be East Friesland. But where is Russia to have her cut? Hanover? A treaty between Great Britain and France is also whispered as partly his object, Great Britain promising something formerly refused to this nation—Portugal the mediator. Highly improbable, I think. Araujo has returned to his old quarters near Harlem. Did he start it here? He is not in the world here. Dear sir, I am always yours *most truly*.[1]

From Timothy Pickering.[2]

Private. Philadelphia, *April 20, 1798.*

Dear Sir: *Sincerely respecting, esteeming and loving you,*[3] I cannot conceal from you *my regret at the tenor of your answer to President Vreede's address to Delacroix* and the other *foreign ministers at the Hague.* I doubt even whether *any answer should have been given.* I am inclined to adopt *your suspicion that the United States were purposely omitted, either at the instance of Delacroix, or* on the part of the President *to render more obsequious and agreeable homage to his masters Delacroix* and the *Directory*, who would take pleasure in every opportunity of manifesting *their ill will and contempt for the United States and their government.* It perfectly corresponds with the general *insulting conduct of the French rulers toward us.* If the *omission was designed, the speech* could not be considered *as addressed to you;* and the subsequent *official transmission of a copy to you* only added *to the insult.* But if the *omission* could be supposed to be *inadvertant*, should not an explanation have been *required*, and the *inadvertance confessed, prior to your returning an answer?* And finally, when it was determined *to answer* I sincerely wish *your expressions appeared to me as they do to you, "mere phraseology." Such for instance, as*

[1] Adams to Murray, April 19, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 278.
[2] From the Pickering MSS.
[3] Italics represent cypher.

these: that you "received with the greatest pleasure and *deference a copy of the speech,"* etc.; when the *speech by the omission referred to,* indicated *a careless inattention to, if not a purposed neglect and contempt for the United States: "To him (the President) and to the whole of the government of the United States, the late event will prove the source of the greatest satisfaction,"* when we could not *but detest the prime agents and their objects. "Upon an event so auspicious to the Batavians you were happy to mingle your feelings of respect and warm felicitations,"* etc; when it was effected *by force* in repugnance to the sentiments and wishes *of nine-tenths of the nation. And is not the following expression of a nature to give offence to Great Britain? That you were "happy to reflect that the great event" (the usurpation of the entire powers of the Dutch republic by a minority of the National Assembly) "while it adds vigor to the spirit, and activity to the power of the Batavian nation against their enemy" Great Britain, "will also give fresh force" etc.; and finally, was it compatible with a just national pride, under the circumstances* which have been mentioned, to *"wish that when the harmony and good understanding of the Batavian republic was pledged to the powers of Europe, it had extended to the government which you had the honor to represent"?*

I observe, my dear sir, that all these *expressions were forced from you, by an idea of the necessity of "going with the government de facto," "of following the stream;" while in your heart you felt "the sentiment of sorrow at the whole of this revolution."* But although it has been the just policy of the American government *to respect the independence of foreign nations, and therefore to acquiesce in the changes in the forms of their governments,* and such were specifically *the instructions to your predecessor in relation to the United Netherlands; yet may not such respect and acquiescence be manifested without paying a pointed homage to unworthy usurpers, and expressions of good will be referred rather to the nation than to them?* It was in this spirit that in the *credentials of our envoys to the French republic I avoided not only all flattering expressions, but even the* customary style of address *to the rulers of that country; for as* during some time *their treatment of the United States had* exhibited *them in* the character *of real enemies,* and that they had *insulted us to the very teeth, I could no longer call them "Very dear, great friends and allies."* The address, you will observe, *is simply "Citizens Directors;" and the wish at the close, not for those execrable tyrants and plunderers, but for "the welfare of the French republic."* Of this manner of address, in this case, the motive to which *I mentioned, the President entirely approved.*

In one word, sir, it is evidently the disposition of the American government *to speak to foreign governments in the language of sincerity; to express no strong sentiments that are not felt; and where custom requires certain formal expressions of civility, to use such as, like*

the common professions of respect at the close of a letter, are universally understood to mean nothing.

You will *pardon, my dear sir,* the frankness with which I have opened my sentiments to you; *it has been an unpleasant task, because I risked an injury to the feelings of a man who is too respectable and too amiable to be wounded by a friend;* yet you will *forgive me in the* reflection, that *"faithful are the wounds of a friend"* and such I am *proud to call myself in addressing you.* Most sincerely, adieu!

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

P. S. I shall perhaps be obliged in my next *public letter* to *touch* on this subject; I have been the more explicit here, *that I may say little there.* The President and Mr. Wolcott *were affected as I have been;* I do not know that Mr. McHenry *has read the paper in question.*[1]

XXIV.

24 APRIL, 1798.

DEAR SIR: General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall] are off—General P[inckney] on the 18th for the south of France, on acct. of his daughter's illness, with permission for ten decades; Mr. M[arshall] went on the 16th to Bordeaux, and is I hope at sea. Mr. G[erry] remains. These gentlemen parted, I *believe,* without visiting. Thus and thus only they rule.

Here everything is vexatious and humiliating—a fine ship, the *Farmer,* taken and carry'd into Helvoet by a one gun privateer close in with the land, now before what Mr. Delacroix calls the French Commissary of Marine at Rotterdam. My dispatches on board are now in that minister's hands. The consul at Rotterdam of whom I myself demanded them refused to deliver them. Mr. D[elacroix] refuses also, and says he must wait for orders; that they are a DEPOSIT from this consul, and he can not. I have reply'd, and he rejoined criminating ship and cargo. So we are even HERE—in this province. Of course I wrote and spoke to government, and on the subject of my dispatches very positively, calling on their immediate protection. In vain! Finding no answer even, I set off on Wednesday morning and arrived at nine at Rotterdam. My journey was fruitful of mortification. For though this consul received my remonstrances with politeness he was too strong to be overawed by a Minister of the United States. Dear God. In truth all the French agents act under the terror of their government. I wish some other agents did the same. This whole affair has made me almost sick. Among the letters are some to Mr. Bourne which Mr. Beeldemaker tells me are from Government from the seal. They probably contain dispatches for the envoys at Paris—ulterior instructions, perhaps, as the *Farmer*

[1] The postscript may not have been in the letter as sent, as it has been crossed with the pen. A second letter of the same date is in Pickering MSS.

left Philadelphia about the 12th of March. Thus they keep the envoys unacknowledged six months, and seize the dispatches which arrive at a critical period. I have set every subordinate spring into as much motion as I can. Respecting this ship, one of the principal charges in Mr. D[elacroix]'s last letter is, that "besides great quantities of English merchandise on board the *Farmer*" was "twice met by British ships of war and received protection from them," etc., etc.—that is they did not take her, and, of course, all that one robber leaves is fair plunder for another! It is enough to break a man's heart not to see our beautiful and rich merchantman armed. Five swivels and fifteen men with handspikes would have brought the ship to Rotterdam! The cargo at insurance is 150,000 dollars—sugar and coffee—in Amsterdam worth at least 280,000. One consignment alone, £14,000 sterling—in sugar; but I have scolded enough. As it is not permitted to me to scold and rave officially, I may be indulged in this pleasure to a friend.

Dandridge [1] is at Paris—Mr. D[elacroix] was so polite as to give him a passport ten days since.

Buonaparte (I hear from Paris) actually will command the army of Europe—Alexander in Persia—the British India probably their object, connected with stations permanently in Egypt; and that the Deputies from the army of Italy who complained of peculation, etc., are in the Temple. What can Spain mean by her late step against the emigrants, etc., and her whole conduct? [2]

Ireland is in a dreadful ferment, and, I *hear*, is declared in a state of rebellion and that some of the troops have joined the citizens.

Yours of the 11th April is the last I have had the pleasure of receiving; it came safely the 20th to me. In great haste I am, my dear sir, most truly and sincerely always yours, etc.

Count Löwenhielm comes in as I close this, and as he is always extremely kind to me so he is also in his remembrance of you, and begs his compliments to you.[3]

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[1] Bartholomew Dandridge, secretary to Murray. Finding the climate of Holland injurious to his health he went to London and served under Rufus King. He applied for an appointment in the provisional army and received a captain's commission. See Washington to Murray, December 26, 1798. "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 128.

[2] "You inquire what Spain can mean by her late conduct? The key to it seems not very intricate. The Prince de la Paz had positively refused the passage for French troops to march through against Portugal, and in consequence of the bickerings which that controversy had occasioned, he had made some advances toward and accommodation with England. The French minister, therefore, besides declaring that the passage would be taken by force, if not granted, insisted *upon pain of an immediate rupture* (a menace as appears quite habitual to them) that the Prince should be removed. The King was *scared* (like our friend G[erry]), complied with all that was required of him, and took Saavedra, who thinks that the welfare and independence of Spain is in exact proportion to her servile subserviency to France. Hence the *cedula* against emigrants, and that against British goods. The next *cedula* will be to provide for the *défenseurs de la patrie* on their passage to Lisbon, or to abolish the Inquisition, the only prop still left to the monarchy. As to all these people who will be bullied even to pour the poison down their own throats, who can pity them?" Adams to Murray, April 30, 1798.

[3] Adams to Murray, April 27, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 280.

XXV.

THE HAGUE, *27 April, 1798.*

DEAR SIR:

. . . . . .

Mr. Buys has gone to Paris principally to concert through Vienna, and Spain and Portugal, a peace with Great Britain. This is a secret yet; he will fail, and it will not be then a secret. For France will never let H[olland] and Spain (who are both anxious for a general, and if not, a particular and separate peace.) If a British negotiation do come here (which is one object both of Great Britain and of Holland and of Spain), it must be because a general negotiation is intended—which I believe not in.

Is it true they have demanded some ships and money of Denmark. Levsen denies it. I tell him I hope his court will grant it, as it would be a pity that a little finger should be hurt in defending life and independence when money will save life; and that as the Danes act *the amiable,* it was natural this little sacrifice should be expected of them.

The constitution is certainly adopted by a vast majority of votes—perhaps 99 to 1. *None even permitted to vote but such as they, the agents, openly sent to reorganize the assemblies, thought staunch 22 January men.* A few members of the (Assembly Constituent) were excluded from the right to vote—officers of the national guard of burghers also; and great complaints poured into the Assembly in petitions all last week, and on Tuesday after the day of suffrage. The select few, protected by force, have in this instance generated and adopted this constitution, announcing it to be the act of the sovereign people. It was about as much the act of his majesty as the revolution in England—indeed not so much so. However, it is necessary to *congratulate* upon such occasions, as it would be if a lady were known by all the world to have been ravished and the marriage ceremony performed to save life and reputation on both sides. And here, also, you know there is an abundance of the cast off wooden salutations of the last century still at the very top of the best company. The same people who can disturb a congregation by their polite lowering of the hat on the sneezing of a fellow creature and who "recommend themselves" to you on the street every hour, would not forgive one if he suffered any day, in which there was much parade and music, to pass without felicitating them upon the occasion. They are indeed the very best people on earth. If I am permitted to stay a year longer, and to go through the regular salutes, and enjoy that state of mind in company, that tranquil uniform species of conversation in which the mind is undisturbed by any of its own energies or of those of others, while the

soul sleeps and the body fattens upon good fish, rely on it I shall become fat and worthy of the sty. In that respect this country really would be medicinal to both of us. It is an absolute opiate and smothers that quick motion of the intellect that I am certain has sometimes affected your nerves as well as mine. Everything announces repose here—dark shady walks, apartments darkened by shutters, blinds and thick curtains, mats and carpets, one straw, two hair mattresses, and one feather bed and two pillows, like their bergs piled up as big as a camp bed, and soft as down. In order to taste all this excellent preparation to assuage an over-active sensibility and to tranquillize the mind acting in great and feverish exertions, they ought to be FRENCHMEN.

I assure you that even this short excursion out of the thick darkness of politics has refreshed me, for this affair of my dispatches and other things have sorely irritated me.

Dandridge went yesterday fortnight to Paris. I expect him home in a week or ten days. He may perhaps see your neighbor [1] and bring us the secret—his philosopher's stone. I know him well. I know he has a kind and friendly disposition. He is however a minority man. He mistakes common things perpetually, and has a costive way of higgling between two ideas and even synonimous words that forbode feebleness of conception, digestion and powers. He knows also no more French than I do, and less perhaps of the French character than any American who has ever lived in any of our seaports a year. They will Seventy-Six-him-up in such a manner that he will be softened into the warm hope that now is the time and opportunity for saving the two republics—through him. When he was here I stuck close to him and went to Amsterdam with him, knowing the sort of politics and party he had been used to in Philadelphia and Boston. A thousand truths were new to him. It seemed quite new that the French were not all purity, philanthropy and real liberty; that the affiliated countries were abject and enslaved. After attending one day in the Wood to show him from many facts and the recent one, the 18 Fructidor (this was about the 24 September), that the French nation were not republicans and probably could not become so in our sense of the word, and that their government was a military and hypocritical despotism—a Democratic popedom—I said that it would be better for them not to have started the revolution, and from their hostility to us I wished they were now exactly as they were in '76. To my provocation but not surprise he turned short and said "Then you deny our right to Independence and the principles of our Revolution"!! I was not surprised because he had harrast me on other occasions by voluntary conclusions of this sort from what I would say when speaking on

[1] Gerry.

the French. I told him with some peevishness; no, but that I found it utterly impossible to talk any more on a subject in which he seemed to have taken some concealed badness of design for granted in me, and of his own accord without reason associated every thing with this presupposed principle. However finding he still wished to talk, and as we blundered along, I started *parties* in the United States. I attempted, I believe in vain, to prove to him that there was a French but no British *party* in America. He cited the shopkeepers and merchants!! I attempted to show him that this was the real error of France or her pretext, and that she must be disabused. I talked myself deaf and dumb, I believe most perfectly in vain. However there he is—a little Daniel in the den. I pray God to preserve him!

I am this moment favored with your's of 19. April inclosing one to the President—but the hour of the post is close at hand. Yours, dear sir, always, etc.[1]

XXVI.

THE HAGUE, *1 May, '98.*

DEAR SIR: Were you within striking distance, as our Indian citizens say, I would send a beautiful Dutch nosegay to Mrs. Adams, from flowery Northwyck as a tribute on the first of May; but as you are at Berlin I will send the nosegay to you.

You have it in the piece cut from a paper sent to me from Mr. Bourne (who is as you told me a most good man)—the message from the President to the Houses [2] on General P[inckney]'s etc., etc., letter of 8 January. In this Mr. G[erry] agrees that there is no probability of success. Has the subsequent course of things the doing of that—the threat of which made them desperate—inspired him with confidence, or does political "love" also "hope when reason would despair?" Alas! I swear we have no language left but the mawkish diminutives of the minor poets in exclamations; manly sounds have been exhausted. From this message I do now even hope that something manly may be done and that they will have "stepped in," not blood—but PREPARATION and energies of intention—so far, that when they hear Gerry on the side behind them, hallooing for them to return, they will not heed him. However, certain it is, when a certain party—the greys even—know that G[erry] remains, they will struggle hard. Then, if at all, will be the contest in which, if insurrection be to be resorted to by France, it will be try'd. Marshall too will get them as soon as G[erry]'s letters; for as he has begun by lettering away in New England, he will now attempt more and more to accommodate things there to his plan of remaining—by private letters. These are what his *predecessor* dealt largely in on purpose for PUBLICATION.

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[1] Adams to Murray, April 30, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 282*n*.

[2] Message March 5, 1798. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 150.

I hear from Dresden that a commercial treaty is on the carpet between Prussia, Saxony and France, on the principle of exclusion of British articles.

Here also a commercial treaty is in some forwardness between Batavia and France, and, on our friends the Batavians' account, I fear the same principle and list of preferences will be adopted. If it be, they are deceived, because they are merely the brokers and importers, not the consumers; and as their whole stock is cash, it is their interest to be a free port. In confining our East and West India exports to this list they will abridge our choice of markets in the two Indies also, and hurt us. As a demonstration of a domineering principle over commerce it is also bad, and will I fear be attempted upon us.

Now if it be true that Buys went to Paris to arrange for a separate peace for Sweden and this country with Great Britain, I should not be surprised if France connives at it, for if she obtains a commercial treaty first with Batavia and Sweden on the exclusion principle, it would be her interest to let them make that peace of which her enemy could not avail herself commercially. I am, my dear sir, with sincere esteem etc., etc., etc.

XXVII.

4 May, '98.

Dear Sir: General Marshall had embarked at Bordeaux on the 24 April for New York.

Things are coming to a point. The treaty between Russia and Austria, I hear offensive and defensive, with Russia somehow concerned to see fair play, is certainly a very important item. If a war take place again, and no Quixotic scheme is at bottom—no royal restoration and no division of France—God and man I firmly believe will crown it with honest success: *i. e.* the French may be circumscribed and old limits of territory regained. But I see that the pretender is hailed at Mitau [1] as Lewis 18th!! These are not times for compliments that prove the existence of a system of this sort.

I *hear* that great bitterness and some duels have taken place in Philadelphia among members of Congress about the first fortnight in March; but it is report only. I think it probably took place on the measures proposed on the message which I sent you in my last. It would test parties and call out great crimination on those who will still kiss the foot that kicks our country, and thus produce heat. I never hear from Philadelphia, scarcely. Whenever I do I inform you. Do *you* hear from Mr. G[erry]? I wish you could. *I* can not expect the honor. I hear through from Paris that *he waits for instructions* from Government! In truth France has for some time seen her

[1] Capital of Courland, Russia.

affairs wearing an ambiguous fortune and was afraid to produce a rupture with the United States. I am, dear sir, most truly always yours etc., etc.[1]

The Constitution is thus supported: for it, 153,913, against it, 11,000.

XXVIII.

14 May, 1798.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 8th, and the preceding ending the 3d inst., I have received safely and shall forward their contents.

Nollet and Vander Jahght [2] have been accused of some suspicious circumstances in the management of the public money, I believe, though I know very little of their characters or offenses, real or imputed. Both were in the highest form of the new school. The first was the deputy who carry'd the message from the revolutionary Constituent Assembly on the "*ever glorious*" 22d January to the members, the twenty, arrested in the little chamber where you took leave. He is now my neighbor, under military guard, next door, and will probably remain confined longer than the House-in-the-wood prisoners, who I understand will be liberated in a few days: I suppose to partake of the solemn feast prepared for the 19th to celebrate the organization of the constitution, etc. This is now organized *without any new election.* On the 4th the Assembly decreed to appoint themselves instantly to be two-thirds of the first and second chambers; twenty for the second, forty for the first. They did so, and elected twenty of their own body for the second chamber; then divided in procession to their respective apartments, and elected their presidents and secretaries. They have already exerted in two small instances their checking powers against each other.

The Directoire here are uneasy at the appearances of a convulsion at Paris, which I hear is expected by the 20th.[3]

Luzac is suppressed. This is on the 4th.[4] The paper from Leyden is now the *News political of Leyden.* I do not know if he still directs it. It is said to have been worth 20,000 florins per annum to him clear. His *italics* produced this oppression.

I begin to hope that, concurrences being favorable, this government will endeavor to extricate itself from foreign dependence. They are deeply sensible of their situation, and now beginning to taste of power, it is natural they should grow restive; but I do not see their way out—I ty'd nine times round them.

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[1] Murray to Pickering, May 5, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, May 8, 1798, in Adams MSS. Pickering to Murray, May 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Jacobus Nolet and Adriaan van der Jagt.

[3] The peaceable *coup d'état* of 22 Floréal, An VI.

[4] "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 230.

It is said that an express arrived last night. Neufchatel[1] goes out. Treilhard[2] will go in, and not Mr. Delacroix: he will go into the Ancients.

Mr. Dandridge has just returned from Paris. He says Mr. G[erry] is the most uneasy man alive. He knows nothing of their intentions (and has not even seen the person of a Director) except that they wish to *receive* him but he refuses, and says he will not stay long. He has written to me in answer to my letter of 15 April, and vindicates his measure on the merit of PREVENTING a RUPTURE which was officially threatened if he went. This is his plea, the very reason for an opposite course. He certainly means well, but he has some substantial errors of opinion at bottom which will forever lead him into hesitations and error of decisions. He is in a thick fog of his own conjuration, and now cannot step to right or left.

By letters from Paris as late as the 6th from an intelligent man intimate with Mr. G[erry]—Mr. S.—and known to many members of government, it seems they wish to prevail on G[erry] to go home, provided he will pledge himself to draw our government into their views; but the writer says G[erry] will not do so. In fact G[erry]'s character puzzles them. They can make nothing of him. Frightened him they have. The same turn of mind that made him stay now operates against their further views on *him*. The great view will however be but too fully attained—a division of opinion.

This correspondent says that the knowing ones at Paris expect a great convulsion in England before the 20th. It is probable that as they expect one at Paris they will exert themselves to have one in England; and from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the junction of Sheridan and other preparatory steps, the British government may have cause also to expect one. The opposition appear to me to be lost in reputation as men of *sagacity*.

The French here say that Buonaparte has gone to Toulon, and his object a junction of that and the Spanish fleets.

I hear nothing from Philadelphia—not a line. Mr. Delacroix writes to me that the *dispatches* are ordered on to Paris, the *letters*, to the consul, to be opened by him, and that this is conformable to the *ordonnances* of France and late decrees!!! I shall not answer till the *Farmer* is either cleared or condemned. Words absolutely are air upon such an insult and violation. Something that may be "clutched" and *used* too, is the thing we need. I have been very sick and continue ill. I am most truly, my dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

Who is your Banker at Berlin? Would it not be best to address to him? You know *mine here*.

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[1] Nicolas-Louis, comte François de Neufchateau (1750–1828).
[2] Jean-Baptiste Treilhard (1742–1810).

Before I closed this (15th) I received (from Mr. Bourne) the inclosed message from the President of the United States. It is manly, and indicative of the true policy.

Mr. B[ourne] also tells me that you are appointed to settle a treaty with Sweden.[1] I sincerely feel pleasure you know in all your honorable movements, and rejoice in this. I hope it will lead to a minister plenipotentiary at Stockholm. Nicholas's antiplenipotentiary motion failed—by four only! Another election comes on this autumn, and I trust the times will point out an amelioration in Congress in the southern elections. I do trust in this.

XXIX.

18 MAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I heard from Paris of the 13th from an intelligent American there. He paints Mr. G[erry]'s oppression of spirits as very great, and I dare believe that he is extremely miserable. I lament it, because I consider him as a friendly hearted and worthy man, and infinitely too good for the bed which in a moment of indecision he has made for himself. Such times and unlucky concurrences of feeble moments and trying situations are enough to kill a man healthier and stronger than he is. This friend tells me that he intends to send his secretary (Mr. Tazewell, nephew of the Virginia Senator) with dispatches to Philadelphia in a short time, and to follow in a few weeks. He has been lately assured by Mr. T[alleyran]d *that the Directoire has good intentions towards the United States, but could not now attend to his mission because of their engagements on the elections*, which by the day you receive this, will probably have ended in one more Fructidor. These sorts of speeches have a baneful effect. I heard that letters from Americans to houses in Amsterdam of that tendency, full of hopes of accommodation, and of friendly assurances, etc. etc., had been received, and wrote to Mr. B[ourne] begging him if possible to counteract their effect. Because copies of such, well intended, are sent off, and do immense mischief by standing on an extra handbill, FRESH and IMPORTANT—*Peace* with France, etc. The disease is hope, absolutely bottomless. Such trashy benevolence is its aliment. Today B[ourne?] tells me that Damen sagaciously and with great joy took him by the hand on 'Change yesterday, and wished him joy on the good news from Paris, telling him of all this sweet intelligence to and from respectable men, and thus, doubtless, goes to different ports in America what is to strengthen delusion, flatter pusillanimity and WEAKEN government. I know well how such insignificant pieces of intelligence affect even Congress, and how I have myself gaped for some refreshing drop from the latest arrivals

[1] Adams' title was commissioner, and his appointment was dated March 14, 1798. The first diplomatic representative of the United States to Sweden was Jonathan Russell, minister plenipotentiary from January 18, 1814, to October 22, 1818.

during various crises in late affairs. The smallest trifle aids a pre-settled hypothesis in such moments; much more when these seize on public passions and help to form that tide of national opinions to which some attention is always paid by members. Letter writers in such cases generally are inclined to soothe a correspondent with "they yet hope," etc., some from a trickiness in speculations, others from a sort of benevolence and without reflection. If on the contrary we are wrong in our calculation, we err with every appearance that can justify a prudent preparation against very probable evils, and such as, if they do happen, and we are not prepared, are ruin. So that preparation is but the principle of insurance apply'd to all we hold great and dear. The premium is nothing compared with risk and value.

As I before hinted I do think that Mr. Vreede and the other Directors begin to assert—with prudence—and as far as seasons permit, the Dutch affairs. As I have before mentioned (I think) Mr. D[elacroi]x is to go. He is not absolutely *recalled*. He was apply'd to be among the Elders. I suppose he expected to be nominated among the Directors, and he, it is said, declined in a degree the seat among the Elders; but he is to be there. There is reason to believe that the Directory here disapprove and are even roused at his too rigid use of the *rights* of *friendship*, and the pretty positive assumption of some that ways and means have been found out to have this known at P[aris], and that his removal absolutely was on that score decided on and his acceptance of an elevated retreat was the consequence.

I understand that the brave *admiral*[1] and General D[aendels] are indignant at repeated proofs of an overbearing spirit in this gentleman, and have been very impatient ever since the 22d January, which was pushed by him into severities against the moderates, of which these two had no conception, in violation of an engagement that no violence should be offered to the persons of any member except removal from his seat. However that day was sanctioned by the Directoire at P[aris] again. The self election of the two chambers on the 4th it is said was owing to him. This it is said has given offence to *France* himself; and it seems, the work being done, the Praetor is made odious though the work stands. They say he has been too rough and gone on with too little regard to the temper of the Batavian nation. What a direful web of intricacy is *France's* system. Did you know a Mr. Du Cange[2]—a frenchman? He formerly was employed in Mr. Luzac's office. He has lived with Mr. D[elacroix] since he came in January.

The last reply of the French ministers at Rastadt seems full of great events, whether accepted by the empire or rejected. The

[1] Jan Willem de Winter.

[2] Brahain Ducange.

Rhine alone will not do; trade is social and so are rivers. The *Danube* next is brought into view. This must show the progress of concession to ruin, I should suppose, past all doubt to all Germany—your north even. Vast indeed are *France's* schemes. The map of Europe with every river in it is doubtless the plat of his profound schemes; the accessions to these only the other three quarters of the world—the Danube, the Black Sea, etc., etc. I hear that a combination will take place of all the north and Germany with this object in view: 1. to limit the views of France at Rastadt conformably to what is now understood to be the concessions agreed to. 2d. to force him into a solemn engagement not only to arrest the present career of propaganda, but also to aid and assist the ally'd powers in discouraging the revolutionary movements in their territories, and to oppose any such movements in conjunction with them; and that this combination will be a pacific engine in its form and spirit and origin, but otherwise if its object be not obtained. Last autumn I had reason to believe that Great Britain had endeavored to excite in the north a sort of armed mediation of this sort as umpire between her and France to be used at Rastadt, or eventually to be used against either who should reject a reasonable plan of peace; but it failed. This Danube proposition, Kehl, etc., etc., seem to me thrown out possibly as points to be yielded as a merit, if much opposed. If this is not so, I should suppose that France must have arranged beforehand along the Danube, and with Turkey to move in her favor, if hostilities come on in a struggle on this point. She does nothing idly as far as I can see into her abyss of schemes.

In consequence of the promising stability of the new constitution, and the growing moderation of the Directoire and government (and those who were violent six months since are now the moderates), the imprisoned members will be liberated tomorrow at night; and a committee appointed to report on a proposition of amnesty in favor of those who have been chargeable with excess in their patriotism since 1794, I understand, will enlarge their report to include an oblivion to ALL of all parties confined since then. In truth our worthy friends the Dutch have really the sweetness of "the Bourbon blood," and are not cruel nor long ill natured. If the gentlemen of the country would step forth and support the government as it is—and here it is established, such as it is—I should hope that if an opportunity offered this government, thus internally sustained, would endeavour not to lean on a foreign pillar. All this I shall not stay long enough probably to witness; for if the merchants arm, as I hope they will be suffered to do under regulations as the President intends, it is pretty easy to see that I shall travel; very reluctantly, certainly, and inconveniently for the present, but under better auspices for my old age than if things are permitted to continue as they

have been between France and the United States. I am always, my dear sir, truly yours.

P. S. This government has also just arrested two of its *secret* agents whom it employ'd at Paris. These men (I will get their names) were in the same employment for the party who were imprisoned 22d January. As soon as they saw how the tide turned they went with it, and were employ'd by the present government at Paris. I suppose that they were commanded to come home, and are now arrested—for what I do not hear.[1]

XXX.

25 May, 1798.

Dear Sir: Some very serious events will take place here I fear in a few days. General Daendels has quarrelled with Mr. Delacroix, was denounced to the Directory, set off to Paris on the 17th. Has been proclaimed as a deserter, and must now succeed in ruining this Directory at Paris, as [he will] probably be try'd here for his life. Indeed very serious affairs seem approaching. I fear to write fully by post.

A Mr. Humphrey [2] arrived at Paris express in 25 days to Mr. Gerry, I rather believe to recall him. By some means, on the 17th March the government had heard that he meant to stay, if all others went. The arming of merchants goes on briskly. Appropriations also do not seem much opposed. In great haste I am, dear sir, etc., etc.

No letters from you this nor the last post.

XXXI.

The Hague, *29 May, 1798.*

Dear Sir: The enclosed letter which I received yesterday from Mr. King will tell its own story, and you will with me rejoice. Never, never were there such scoundrels! I hear that its effects at first were strong upon the opposition, but our friends suffered the moment to pass without tying them down to some voted proposition; and then some of the opposition began to apologize, and say they knew Talleyrand to be a royalist from the company he kept in Philadelphia, and

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[1] Adams to Murray, May 25, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 295.

[2] Clement Humphreys. Mountflorence dined with Humphreys on the 14th at Gerry's lodgings. "He did not get anything from Mr. G. except that Mr. G. inquired about biscuits, and if there were enough on their return; from which he concluded that Mr. Gerry meant to leave France in some short time. I have not received anything on the subject from Mr. Gerry." Murray to the Secretary of State, May 19, 1798. Pickering MSS.

"The information contained in the latter [No. 35] is extremely interesting, and if you did not pronounce on the matters stated as facts so peremptorily, and with a repetition, *that Spain will refuse both the demands of France (the cession of Louisiana, and the march of a French army through Spain to attack Portugal)* I should suppose you had been entirely misinformed; and as it is, I cannot refrain from doubting, knowing the debility and supineness of one party, and the power and imperious character of the other. If there had been *an army of 80,000 men prepared since last October*, it is strange that we should never before have heard of it. Should, however, the facts as stated be correct, I can account for them only on one ground; that acceding to the demands would in the result be ruinous, and resistance could not produce a worse effect, while it afforded some chance of success. *It is time, indeed, for the world to rise in arms against a monster that threatens to lay it waste.*" Secretary of State to Murray, May 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

that the Directory probably knew nothing of it, and would punish him! Dear God, this must be drivelling or treason! But I hear that generally the wrong have become right. But read, read; I will no longer detain you from the treat. I must tell you however that on the eleventh an armed express brig arrived at Havre from Philadelphia with dispatches by a Mr. Humphrey to the envoys and commanding their return. Gerry was not gone on the 18th, nor did he send H[umphrey] to General Pinckney till 16th or 17th. The probability is that the object of this express vessel in part may be defeated, as it was for them to get out of France before the inclosed publication should reach Paris, and that they may be imprisoned. I have heard not one word from Gerry on the subject, nor from him these four weeks. In America the public voice is high for bold measures. I am, dear sir, truly, etc.[1]

XXXII.

1 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last post I sent you a London paper containing copious extracts from the correspondence of the envoys at Paris, unfolding very circumstantial and direct evidence of prostitution on the part of *France* and her priesthood. Of course they will deny. If they do, I fear some very harsh treatment to General P[inckney] and Mr. G[erry]. Remember Quirini, the Venetian, and D'Araujo. I have not heard that G[erry] who had warning on the 13th May at night is gone, I fear that the same indecision of temper will keep him till they get the publication. The preparation of sea-biscuit will detain him ten days before he obtains a batch duly baked and packed. Humphrey who brought the dispatches on the 13th ultimo and who, as they were letters of *recall*, ought to have gone immediately, was not off on 16th at the post hour. Poor General P[inckney]. Marshall is probably in Philadelphia; his arrival will help to swell and point the popular feeling against the philanthropists. From Mr. King I learn (of the 18th) that on the first reading the antis expressed the heartiest indignation; but that after some days poisoned qualifying ifs and buts were thrown among them:—"of Talleyrand they always had a bad opinion; he was a royalist; the company which he kept in Philadelphia had proved that; but they had no idea that he was so bold an intriguer and so profligate a villain; and it was hardly possible that the Directory could know of this."[2] Yet I understand that they either moved or intended to move an address of approbation to the President for his conduct in this important negotiation; that they had met in Korkus (your worthy New England men call it) and had resolved almost unanimously to support government. Both are probable: the last mentioned course as the first impulse of disabused

[1] Adams to Murray, May 31, 1798, in Adams MSS.

[2] See Jefferson to Carr, April 12, 1798. "Writings of Jefferson" (Ford), VII, 238.

enthusiasm; the first, as the effect of intrigue upon them and a consequence of love artfully rekindled after it had been shaken by high appearances of worthlessness. If they are not satisfy'd after ALL that has happened, they are fit for Venice, Milan, or ———, but not for Philadelphia.

I have seen the circular, it permits arming in defence. This may be best for the moment. It was all that the President could authorize, but it is war. Congress must do the rest. Defensive war it seems to me suits no government but a very strong one, that consults the taxed very little about the taxes. With us the people will be open to intrigue, if their passions are not war passions. Taxes will be felt and deliberately calculated like an expensive dinner when there is no appetite and no wine. Reason merely will not pay taxes; fear and avarice, and sometimes almost prudence in those who are to bear up with their property to support the war, must be drowned often in the din of the more careless passions and the love of glory. Enterprise, the sweet revenge inflicted and tasted in a vulgar way, by seamen in port and their friends in the country are necessary.

A paragraph is in a London paper of the same date, taken from some of ours, that the French are in the Floridas and their flag flying at New Orleans. This is not proof, but it needs little proof to render anything from them probable. The minister here knows nothing of it. I have long warned him against this cession, as hurtful to us, ruinous to Spain in her colonies. The posts on these frontiers I learn are given up to our troops.

Paul I seems a clever man by his manifesto.[1] He has a character to establish, and as this is the first time he has broken a spear, he must now proceed. All this looks like a link of a long chain—or is it the former convention for mutual aid with Great Britain? I hear that affairs at Rastadt are embroiled, and that the princes talk too loud for men of their modesty, unless supported behind by the Emperor. These little fellows are the mere shillings that make a guinea. They ought to be minted again; for separately, like every guinea in change, they come to nothing.

How I envy you that dear amiable tender hearted son of the church—call him Abbe Sieyès. I wish much to see him and your other *illuminated*, Nicolai, of Berlin.[2] Sieyès is certainly the pivot of the French affair. What is he at Berlin for? Caillard [3] I respect.

At this instant yours is delivered to me, XI o'clock. Regularity is nothing except in the dialogues of the dead or something equally foreign to my way of living with those whom I esteem.

You show me that you know all I do about this and that, which you will find in this letter, yet I send it—"two morning guns Mr. Puff"!

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[1] Proclamation on protection to trade, May 15, in "Annual Register," 1798, 237.

[2] Christophe Frèdèric Nicolaï (1733–1811).

[3] Antoine-Bernard Caillard (1737–1807).

I agree with the players however that one cannot "make too much of a good thing," and there never, never was so good a thing as this publication 'bating its trimming and placing—*non hic locus*. I have a full pamphlet of it, and it is already dirty. It has been in a dozen hands and is read in the night by those who can not get it in the day. It is a thing of the most triumphant exultation that has been seen here. All, all are sick and trodden down. They scarcely at first believed that there existed spirit enough to say to *France's beard* that she was a prostitute and that they placed her as such in immortal types. It soothes, and exhilarates, and searches the remains of manhood in all who read, and I think will have a very considerable effect on this continent.

The English landed at Ostend and have disabled that place from sending out vessels for eight months. That was their object, and not to overflow to Ghent. But poor John acted as he has not done for many years on land, he got beaten and taken prisoner. 1400 are taken it is believed, though not by 500 of the enemy. The want of discipline in the British officers is everything. Their silver stewpans, and delicate sauces, and superb travelling mattrasses and camp equipage, all of patent and warranted articles, suit young lords in St. James's park, but are shabby apologies for that eternal drubbing which they have had the honor to take from the French grenadiers all this war. They are brave officers and men, but they are undisciplined and poor soldiers.

For God's sake make the king of Prussia read Homer and see the force and evil of division. The contest cannot long be between one king and another, if those crowned gentlemen will not on *some principle*, shake hands at such a moment!

I mean to endeavor to have *the publication* entire translated into French. Could you not have it done? If I do, I shall charge its expenses to government. They make me pay rent for this house! I shall pay 500 guilders; it is little rent, but really takes away with 200 of *all* my savings, upon my honor, for this year! The executive cannot help it. I know this. It is the law, the bond. It goes very near my heart. Yours always, my dear sir, affect'ly.

P. S. Last Tuesday I had an application from Hamburgh to know if vessels would be safe in coming to Rotterdam. I answered no, the French privateers take ours near the Meuse and bring them into Holland. The *Farmer's* cargo, worth 375,000 guilders, is just condemned by the French consul at Rotterdam.

Inclosed you have a note. This Major Mountflorence [1] has been the Ariel among the consuls in France. Could not you do him a kindness—some consular appointment for instance? [2]

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[1] James C. Mountflorence.

[2] Adams to Murray, June 5, 1798, in Adams MSS.

XXXIII.

5 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Mountflorence has just arrived at Rotterdam and, as he could not come hither, as he waited hourly for a wind, I went yesterday to see him. G[erry] is not gone; General P[inckney] making ready to go; so is G[erry]. On the 28th ulto. THEY received the *publication* from Philadelphia, and Mr. Talleyrand will have a severe time of it reporting upon it for his masters. Nothing had transpired of what *they* thought and felt from this exposure. Vindication and revenge must be expected by us. My fear is we shall now wait to know if they deny it. Dear me!

G[erry]'s confidents and particulars have been a Mr. Codman,[1] who though not dyed in grain is deep dyed, Mr. Cutting [2] who openly reviles government; and dear, amiable, clean and sweet Tom Paine.

I fear that G[erry] will try to linger a little longer; that in proportion as things are desperate his fears will rise and his turns redouble, and that under the letter of recall he may hinge upon some expression giving a discretion, "unless a treaty is made or can be made." It is *reported* by a sailor who has a letter, he says, from General Marshall to Mr. Middleton, that the ship in which the General embarked the 20 April was taken at sea by the privateer to which this sailor says he belongs, and carry'd into Spain, and that Brown his Secretary was wounded. Nothing but the *time* is against the probability of this story. All quiet here yet. Dear sir, yours truly.[3]

XXXIV.

8 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: There is reason to believe that Mr. Delacroix was not recalled [4] with so much gentleness as would appear from the letter of the Directory to Bernadotte. On the contrary his recall was a consequence of the intrigues—and more honest intrigues, if an end at all sanctifies means—of the moderates, headed by Genl. D[aendels], on some heavy charges against him. So that his recall may be considered as important, because it has originated here; and proves that something new is to be done here to which the present party are deemed incompetent. Or, it is but the progress of the T[alleyrand] system of breaking parties, and fighting one against another in each change, showing that in all their transmutation they are under the bidding of the great master of changes—thus to subdue more and more that internal strength which is formed by a union of men upon some accepted principles.

This moment I have the pleasure of yours of 31 May. You do not mention mine of the last, but one, post.

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[1] Brother of John Codman, of Boston.

[2] Nathaniel Cutting, United States consul.

[3] Adams to Murray, June 7, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 298.

[4] The letter of recall is in "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 232.

Daendels, whom I thought I had mentioned, quarreled with D[elacroix] and his confidential factotum Ducange on the 16 of May.[1] He abused these for the severities of the 22d January, so contrary to an express convention between Mr. D[elacroi]x of the one part, and himself and the gallant admiral [2] on the other. He treated with a soldierlike freedom the acts of sequestration, and the 4th May, the self election of the two councils. He reviled Ducange as a fellow who deserved death. D[elacroix] had six days before received an alarming letter from the Directory at Paris, commanding him to vindicate himself against charges of the above sort (which had been made by General D[aendels] and others). Mr. D[elacroi]x knowing that General D[aendels] was of all men the one who could exonerate him, if he could be brought over, and, it is believed, being resolved, if that could not be effected, to put the General in some situation that would ruin him with his own government, had him to a private family dinner, when the frankness and high spirit of the General soon showed him that the last must be his choice. There, at this dinner all this happened; then, after this dinner, his guest was denounced to the Batavian Directory as a counter-revolutionist. A new method of poisoning a guest seems to have been invented. The General went to Joubert, who esteems him, after the interview with the Directory on the 17th; he was even persuaded by his friend J[oubert] to take his passport and start instantly to Paris. He was to have been that night arrested; it may be doubted if the troops would have suffered it. At Paris he was well received by the Directory. Three things were determined in his presence, it is said: That Mr. D[elacroi]x should be recalled, that Ducange should be chased from this country, that two agents of the violent men here, at Paris, should be arrested, and even the house of Mr. B. the unacknowledged minister was ordered to be searched for them. This helps to explain why B. has not been received, though there since 26 April. Probably the moderates here have prevented it. Certainly everything was ready for an explosion here, had not the General fired his gun too soon. Of this subordinate arrangement which has been very silently performed, I knew nothing till the first week in last month. I cannot write much which I wish to say on the views of parties, which form the important part of all such affairs. Thus D[aendels] has triumphed.[3] I fear however that the moderates thus incur a debt of gratitude which will embarrass them. Their honest views are worth guilders, if the French would accept guilders in lieu of homage and allegiance. I fear some of my letters are missing. Surely I must have mentioned something of these things to you. By the bye, what I told you that

[1] *Ib.*, 226, 227.
[2] De Winter.
[3] See Bielfeld's dispatches in "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 352, and the "Précis historique," 635.

Mr. V. Hoofe [1] is reputed to have said 22d January of the priest is revived, published, enlarged to more than double, and the *last* is most credited. Some, about twice as much as the last was intended for the Goddess, whose priests it seems have follow'd those of you and prevented *it* from ever reaching the Temple. The goddess is enraged at this, and this with some other things will account for her bias to moderation which is generally more punctual and less needy.

No, I did not see Stone; [2] it is enough to read him. I have had his pamphlet and sent it a week since to Col. Pickering. The English to my astonishment *have* certainly gained their object, which was to cripple the canals and sluices without inundating, and the port of Ostend it is believed will no longer for eight months do its owners any service. My dear sir, Gerry is yet at Paris! ! and letters to Amsterdam and Rotterdam from French and Americans say that he holds conferences with the French government, and that things are becoming friendly (and propitious is the word). I am written to, to know all about it. I answer it is false, that Mr. G[erry] is not an envoy at present, etc., etc. I do fear a little that man's more than infantine weakness. Of it you can not have an idea, unless you had seen him here and at Paris. Erase all the two lines above; it is true, but it is cruel. If they get hold of him they will convert him into an innocent baby-engine against the government, and to his utter ruin. I never hear from him, except the beginning of May, in answer to my scolding letter of 14 April. General P[inckney] says (date 26 May) from Lyons that he will weather out the storm. He foresees it, and sent me an extract from the letter of recall of the 24 March.[3] I will copy the alternatives:

1. If in treaty with persons duly authorised, to remain and expedite the treaty; if you discover a design to procrastinate, you are to break off, demand passports, and return. For you will consider suspense as ruinous to the essential interests of your country.

2. If on the receipt of this letter, you shall not have been received, and, whether received or not, if not in treaty with persons duly authorized with full powers, demand passports and return.

3ly. In no event is a treaty to be purchased with money, by loan or otherwise.

Nothing can be more explicit. Yet there is Gerry clinging round the heels which have been spurning him and his government nine months almost, a government whose conception he has signed and sealed, and whom he has acknowledged he has no confidence in.

I do not know as to the ruin of Europe. I begin to think that this mighty power of France is greatly ideal, a species of hypochondria.

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[1] J. F. R. van Hooff.

[2] John Hoskins Stone. See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 297.

[3] Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 200.

Her armies can not be every where, her intrigues may. Both have been felt, and their consequences detested. The armies are moved, and her system established in the affiliated countries is so little plausible in practise, and put together with ligaments of so temporary a nature, all will tumble from her—not in one or two years. But indeed it can not last. It is too much opposed to common sense, to the natural feelings, which pervade the mass, though not the philosophers. Nature will resume her dominion. With you I agree that she will exhaust every nation not in offensive arms of the greatest part of its wealth, at least of its money, and derange the governments of Europe for a time; but it seems to me that her whole conduct is so outrageous—and so imprudent, that if anything could drive man into content with established governments, it is this Fury whom it has pleased God to let loose upon the world. We must become more a martial people than we are. I trust in a growing spirit of Union and a growing solidity in Government. With the two last we may, indeed, scorn the vengeance of France. Europe will be too vigilant to avail itself of any diversion of force at all competent even to a ten days march from our shores which she might send. Dear sir, I am always yours, etc., etc.[1]

XXXV.

12 JUNE, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR: I thought that I had told you of General D[aendel]'s affair with the Citizen [Delacroix], and all about it. Yes, he got a passport from his friend Joubert.

He has just returned triumphantly. The denunciation against him as a deserter and counter-revolutionist is neither taken off nor executed upon him, and he is now at his House near the Directorial palace, with his guard of honor, two French grenadiers, and I hear was escorted to town by French hussars. All the corps of the officers of both armies went yesterday to pay their respects to him. Something very important will occur probably by Saturday, as in a fortnight the primary assemblies meet to elect the *vacant* third. Ireland is in open rebellion.

You do not tell me whom to put my letters under cover to. Your last came safe, and the two inclosed went last night to Mr. Bourne, and will soon go. I also have a London edition of the publication. Nothing of *their* opinions on it reaches me. The tiger never bounds at his prey till he is sure; he will wag his tail and slink into the bushes if he finds innocence as wary as himself is cunning. In great haste I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

Not one word from or of Gerry.

[1] Adams to Murray, June 12, 1798, in Adams MSS.

XXXVI.

12 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: A Revolution took place today at half past four. General Daendels at half past four sent in some grenadiers to the Directorial palace, while Mr. Van Lange[1] and Mr. Delacroix were at dinner and seized Mr. V. L. The others, except Mr. Wildrick, could not be found. Mr. Dela[croi]x came out in a perfect fury. He roared in a voice so suffocated by rage that it was a scream of agony; he abused them all vehemently to his own house. I met him near that; he was with his son and a Colonel of Hussars, and a mob of boys and blackguards behind him—a mournful spectacle I assure you, and certainly too much humbled for any foreign minister. V. L. was dragged, as he refused, down the steps. He then found he must go and went to the Rotterdam. His amiable lady I saw at the door three minutes after. She appeared to weep, as General D[aendels] passed her to go in with some grenadiers to search. Mr. Finje and Vreede are missing. Fokker, I hear, is taken, and he and Wildrick dismissed again. The councils were overturned at half past six. The President of the second Council, Visser,[2] seized on in his chair which was taken from under him. Midderich,[3] President on 22d January and of the 2d Comr. arrested—De Beare Do, Ploos Van Amstel Do, Ockerse, Vonk, Vanleuven, De Lemon, Burdt of the I Council do, Wendam of the West India Company Do, A secretary of Eighbertstein (a secret agent at Paris lately) Do, De Lemon uncertain.[4] The citizen minister went at six to General J[oubert] and called on him to protect the Councils, etc., etc. The National Guards marched out of the court, and there was no resistance, no tumult, no disturbance, but the buzz of armed men marching and landing their arms. The French troops were out, their arms stacked; but they were not ostensible, and were unnecessary. Everybody seemed against the present power. Not so on 22d January—all was then visibly mournful.

A *provisory* Directoire is named, and a secretary to it, Mr. van Grasveld,[5] who left his card as such with me at nine. I *hear* that this Council or Directory is composed of very good men. Two I know, viz. Gogle[6] of Finance, Spoors[7] of Marine, and, I think, Peyman[8] of War—all very excellent men. General D[aendels], of course, who is I trust a man of honor and patriotism, is at the head of whatever

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[1] Stephanus Jacobus van Langen.
[2] C. Visser.
[3] H. Midderigh.
[4] Willem Anton Ockerse, L. C. Vonck, H. H. de Lemon, A. J. C. de Bere, Hobbe, baron van Aylva van Eberstein. See "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 542.
[5] Carel Hendrik van Grasveld, a nephew of Daendels.
[6] Isaäc Jan Alexander Gogel.
[7] Jacob Spoors.
[8] Gerrit Jan Pijman.

system may start. Van der Goes I believe will be replaced at the head of foreign relations. He is a man of worth and sense. The Constitution will stand. A proclamation[1] will be issued tomorrow or next day on principles very comprehensive, respecting the approaching elections in primary assemblies the last of this month, and the first principle will be to unite all parties if practicable. The views of independence which I do believe guide the most enlightened men of this new revolution, entitle them to the confidence of the Orangists, if they are not poor puny and puling things, yet prince-sick. They have lost their gilded yacht, they are in the water, and ought to be happy if they can save themselves in the long boat.

On Daendels' return on Sunday night, the officers and other moderates to the number of 300 at least would give him a fête at the Doel. On last night they gave it. To-day the four young men who were managers were arrested by the Directory, who the day before also deprived Joubert of the command of the Dutch armies. The Directory acted as if they were but to order, yet no means were provided for resistance. It was a mournful proof to me of the state of insensibility to which changes often repeated lead even soldiers to see the two horse guards sitting like wax figures on their steeds, with drawn swords and barbed lips, on each side the doors down which the Director Van Lange was dragged by the grenadiers. It is true that General D[aendels] was present; but the Directory had proclaimed that none should obey him. The bodyguards of the Legislative Councils acted in the same passive way; but all the soldiers and all the officers were against them—all. This was obvious even on the 22d January. A very respectable man, who commands a battalion (a Dutch one), told me on that day with tears in his eyes how unhappy he was—him, I had seen attending the high priest of *France* into the bosom of the Convention to make his speech. Unhappy, excellent nation! would to God they were independent!

The greatest part of the scenes of this day I saw. Mr. Dandridge saw almost all of which I missed.

Mr. Van Lange goes to Woerden as a state prisoner. No harshness will be shown.

I rejoice in this revolution on the whole. I have *more* hopes of Batavian independence. Would that Great Britian were wise enough to see her policy in liberating the worthy revolutionaries from all fear of her interference. In such a situation, *if occasions occurred*, I do believe they would assert themselves and extricate their country.

Delacroix's courier at seven was stopped at the port and sent back though he produced his authority. I am, I fear, a little malicious; but when excessive arrogance and mischievous tempers are mortify'd

[1] Dated June 12. It is in "Annual Register," 1798, 244.

they furnish a repast which even good nature may enjoy with triumph.

Yet always, dear sir, Dutch revolutions are truly dramatic—easily written, easily endured, and read without convulsions.

P. S. to 12 June, 1798. The inclosed I wrote at night on the 12th. Today they have formed a legislative body of 42 *pro tem.*, till the subdivisions of the territory for primary Assemblies are complete. This will take more than a month. The revolution was not to have taken place till Roberjot[1] came; but on the 12th the government desired that at five that day two gentlemen[2] should be executed as an example to overawe the troops. The crime was, I assure you, that they were managers the preceding night at a supper given to Daendels. When D[aendels] heard of this, he seized the moment and acted. Buys is recalled by the late government. Slick Van Scholten, late of Stuttgart, was to go in his place. He is arrested. Schimmelpenninck goes to Paris as minister. When they get a little settled I mean to present a memorial on the late outrages against our trade which I have ready, but would not present to the others till I should see whether there was hope of their removal. They never answered one of mine, and I believe of no one's else! Despised within, impotent without, I mention the skeleton of the 12th. You will reflect and form opinions. Nothing is *right*, but all is better!

14th June, 1798. The Directoire whom I know are good—Spoors (of Marine), Gogel of Finance, Pijman of War. Late. Gerry writes me today that the government assure him that they have no hostile intentions!!! Did you ever see the like? The legislative body is composed of some of the best men certainly—corps have been purged and puked since you were here. These are such as you described to me as the best in the country.

The men of the House in the Wood are yet in duress. I saw them today. They are but prisoners of form for some days. A declaration has been tendered to them I think this morning "to submit their conduct for a time to military law." I believe they refused.

Entre nous—all, all the worthy men droop over the success of the 12th, though the means were necessary. You can easily judge what it is that a man who loves his country as they do would regret in *such* a revolution, so accomplished! Yet, other events concurring, they will do the best, and economise the remains of their liberties and independence.[3]

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[1] Claude Roberjot (1753–1799).

[2] Pompe van Meerdervoort and Kretschmar, "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 656.

[3] Adams to Murray, June 23, 1798, in Adams MSS.; June 19, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams" II, 309.

To Timothy Pickering.[1]

The Hague,[2] *23 June, 1798.*

Dear Sir: I have had the honor of receiving last night your letter of the 25th April. To say that it was *a painful* night's work to decypher such a letter, however kind, is but to do justice to the high respect I have for your opinion and due to the esteem which I feel for you personally.

As the errors to which it relates *are past and the government* which occasioned them no more, I will not attempt to give them any further importance by long explanations, because, sir, these could have no effect but to prove that while I frankly acknowledge that were the thing to do over again, I should now think myself bound to do it differently, yet that at the time I acted for the best, and that I rejoice that my motives have been in your eyes without blame.

No evil, it is my only consolation! has yet happened from this affair. It was on my presumption that I knew my ground, that I ventured; *the governors again in power* think nothing of *such vapor. I have their esteem, I believe.*

As you have deemed *my answer censurable,* I must presume that you have weighed all the small concurring motives that might arise from local circumstances, from temporary causes, from the usage of the diplomatic men here, from the change in diplomatic language in revolutionary scenes, and, permit me to say, from *the contempt which* [was] *felt* for the exhibition and its cause, and from everything which could tend to direct the judgment on an affair that struck me not as a matter of business, and certainly not for *publication, but of pageantry.*

The language adopted *by you,* sir, in the late *intended negotiation with France* had the omissions which policy enjoined, and that chaste simplicity which best suits great affairs: yet I would beg leave to remark that this language was not from *a minister* on the spur of the moment, but from *the government itself* on a great affair, in which it was measured by motives with a precision that was to be final.

I should be sorry to see the *United States government* use any other. I do not in the following remark mean to indicate *my answer.* Yet I confess I found some encouragement *to trifle with usurpers,* without a severe measuring of terms and opinions, in recollecting the reception *of the flag at Philadelphia, and the style used* by *Congress,* on that and other delicate occasions. These things, though a little revolting, I always considered as measures of *mere policy,* and that had government *been stronger,* and the public mind *less distracted* then than it is at present, such things would not have happened.

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[1] From the Pickering MSS. [2] Cypher in italics.

I sincerely hope that no evil will arise from that sentence which is considered as not compatible *with our neutrality*. My word "*while*," so placed, I considered at the time as referring to their own anticipations of strength, etc., etc., and as placing that sentence out of the reach of political offence, however much that and the whole be below any criticism: for I am conscious that their piece, and all such on such subjects, are distorted from the strait path, are mawkish compositions, and as much below real moral and political dignity as they are offensive to sound taste.

In justice then, sir, to myself I must say that the exposure of the contrasts between *my despatch and my answer has extremely mortified me*. Not that I suppose you thought I *had two opinions;* but that you should have thought it necessary *to set at variance* the respective parts of each *to myself, to show a* supposed deformity.

In justice *to you*, sir, I must declare that had you been sensible of my respect for your opinions, and my high esteem for you personally, you would have thought that much less *of exposure of myself to myself* would have been sufficient to *make me cautious*. With you, sir, I am proud to work in the cause of our government and country, to counteract their enemies, and to labor with zeal: from you *a hint that I had* acted below, permit me to say, *my own personal dignity*, much less the point of a just national pride, would have made *a deep impression*. While I frankly however own that *my answer* contains many, very many faults, I consider that it was not intended for transatlantic eyes. I know that it can not a moment abide that standard. I cannot help lamenting that while it was tried by that, it should have given *the uneasiness* to you, which it has. Had that feeling been excited by it in the mind of a secretary to whom I should have been personally unknown, and by whom I might have been overrated as to judgment, and underrated as to that incessant zeal and those intentions and principles upon the present crisis which I boast to feel, I should *have felt less the rebuke*.

I am, my dear sir, sincerely sensible of the value of your kind and friendly opinions of me personally. These have consoled me; for I have been *mortified*, not at an *erroneous opinion*—I often am sensible of these—but at *the contrasts*. I ought to give you no further trouble upon this subject, and therefore will end this letter. Accept, my dear sir, my best wishes for your health and happiness at this crisis of our affairs, and believe me, etc.

XXXVII.

25 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: On my return from Utrecht on the 23d I had the pleasure to receive your 7th, 12th and 16th; and to-day yours of the 19th insts. At one period it is true that General D[aendels]'s affairs at Paris

were believed here to be bad. The tenth he returned in triumph, supped on the 11th, and next made the *change;* for, as the whole is predicated upon the principles of the 22d January last, and the constitution is to stand, they do not admit it to have been a revolution.

This change General Daendels effected in a manner extremely well and with great judgment, once admitting military machinery into changes of civil government as a conceded good; and in this case it could not have been made but by this admission. Necessity demanded a change and a very prompt one. The violent system of the government produced this necessity. The first open symptom of that system of terrorism was the immediate cause of the prompt movement of the military under their leader of the day who, though a favorite with the army, had some perilous obstacles in his way. I allude to the intended execution of Messrs. ——— ———[1], who were to be the first victims, and on that day, too, criminal tribunals were organizing, 6,000 National Guards and armed burghers were immediately to be drawn round the Hague, and a scene of proscription, capital punishment and terror would certainly have taken place. France's priest was the principal instigator of these plans. He has been mortify'd and disgraced beyond any resentment of mine.

The papers of the Directory, of the three, for Fokker—Wildrik resigned on the morning of the 12th rather than subscribe to this system, these papers have been found in a casket with three keys in the possession of a mathematical professor, one of Finje's friends, who had the care of it. These, it is said will unfold a great deal of iniquity. Already certain traces are whispered to have been found in it of the miserable corruption of some who have held their heads high in the clouds and storms of Republicanism, of philosophy—Republicanism I mean. 5,000,000 florins at one period are spoken of, I do not believe so much, on account of 22d January. There is now reason, black and white enough, for the report I mentioned as what Mr. v. H[ooff] *said* on 22d January. 400,000 florins are the sum instead of two. Even the wretched creature Ducange, it is believed, touched 200,000. 500,000 were to have gone to the goddess's temple; it did not get there. Among the *papers* in this curious casket is a letter from young Dedem,[2] lately appointed to Cisalpine, but to stay a while at Paris—to intrigue. He is a handsome young man and seems to have been intended to engage the good offices of Mr. Meyer's late fair friend, Madm. Montalembert, at Paris. In this letter (which I will try to get a copy of, it is published) D[edem] says to Finje that the government (Mr. T[alleyrand]) begs that no money may be put into the hands of Mr. Buys or himself, as the

[1] Page 416, *supra*.

[2] Anton Boudewijn Gijsbert, baron van Dedem van der Gelder. The letter is in "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 801.

government would avoid any of those appearances; but, says the sagacious young fellow, you must understand that to mean that whatever money is used must not be *openly* used! A very pretty illustration of Talleyrand's vindication against the indictment of our envoys—which, by the bye, is precisely that of a jack whore brought before a judge. She always begins the vindication of her character by attacking her accuser to show that he is no gentleman and ignorant of the world. This letter fortunately for the world, but blunderingly for the government here, they published, and without much reflection certainly, for it is an offensive echo of the American publication, in small. They try'd to recall it, and sent orders to Schimmelpennirck to explain it—if it offended. It, however, next day appeared in Grosse's papers! This precious casket "with all that it contains" is sent to Paris by Mr. S[chimmelpenninck], to be unfolded as evidence of the worthless character of its former possessors. Among the sums, 200,000 florins are said to have gone to the house of the arrested and imprisoned Director, and actually went to pay debts for wool—he is a wool manufacturer. In fact, my dear sir, it will I understand be proved that a monstrous scene of corruption took place. I am very busy or I would go on. I must say a word of myself.

(Confidential)

I have just received a letter from Col. P[ickering] in cypher [1]—a severe reprimand for my answer to the speech of the President Mr. V[reede], to Citizen Delacroix and the foreign ministers, in which they omitted the United States, when they pledged their good will, etc., etc. Of this I told you.[2] My answer is considered as undignify'd and wholly improper! I sate up almost all night to decypher it—and to suffer. I am much mortify'd. My language of empty compliment—empty I meant it—is contrasted with my real sentiments which I gave in my account of that affair. Had I been a philosopher and meant what I said in that complimentary way, I should have been too exalted to feel the displeasure of administration. As I am, and as they know me to be zealous at least and faithful to my country and government, I did feel this contrasting with deep sensibility. I believe I ought not to have answered without an explanation. I see that this was an *error*. The Colonel's friendly expressions added keenness to the reproof. He knows or ought to know that one who values and esteems him so solidly as I do, would have sufficiently suffered from an *intimation* that he thought me wrong. From him and from such an administration at such a time too, a very little disapprobation would have been very impressive on me! Yours, dear sir, always.

[1] See p. 393, *supra*.

[2] Page 372, *supra*.

XXXVIII.

29 JUNE, 1798.

Yours, my dear sir, of 23 inst. has this moment come. I would not sit down to write till the post hour that I might write on your letter, should one come. My private letters, one from Mr. McHenry and one from Harper give me great hopes, and will help to confirm yours. My letter (same date as yours) from the Secretary of State also assures me of the defensive measures and grants of monies necessary.

Respecting the affair here of the 12th I principally stated things, knowing you to feel and think for yourself. All that you have said, has been said here by worthy men who seem to think themselves saved from our ruin as shipwreck by being cast upon a land of cannibals. There is, indeed, a weary political way which they have to tread.

We expect war here between France and Austria. Heaven send it. War in Europe is to my mind as necessary as scarifying is to prevent mortification. They are gone if they lie still.

This government have sent me an answer. It is merely to assure me that they will do all in their power to obtain more respect from France to their violated territory and our trade within their limits; and with Mr. Buys's memorial in May to the French government in consequence of my repeated re-clamation, etc., etc. His memorial is even strong. The answer to it is also sent. It is as might be expected from a government reckless and careless of their suffering allies. Though all this is really affecting to me, for I esteem this nation, the answer of the Ministers of Marine and Colonies to Buys reminded me of the Canon Sedillo in Gil Blas, who in giving the character of Gil's predecessor says, the rascal thought hard of sitting up perpetually with me and breaking his rest for my ease![1]

Our own arms must guard our own ships. I think I foresee some hot water here, whenever a skirmish shall happen near this coast, and one of our successful merchantships shall come into the ports here afterwards—and be pursued probably. Such a scene would be excruciating to our friends the Dutch, who wish us well (and themselves in us), and who rejoice at our spirited preparations against the general enemy. Have you seen Harper's speech 31 March, and Allen's[2] of Connecticut—most excellent and honorable to our country? The only hitch that our friends have over the Jacobin members is on their sense of shame. This will not last; but the country, as Allen says, will *compel them* to alter. Pray observe—if you have any secret intelligence to give the Secretary of State, try if possible, as I mean to try (through a private letter to *him* in cypher),

[1] "He, forsooth, did not like to watch over me, and looked upon it as a great fatigue to spend the night in contributing to my ease." Book II, chap. 1.

[2] John Allen (1763–1812).

to get him to lock up your letters from general inspection. A curious thing has rendered this caution essential—particularly if you ever name *names*. I lately received a letter from an American gentleman [1] on this continent, complaining partly of me as well as of a *member*, viz. this gentleman last autumn sent me some intelligence from Paris where he dined with public men and a late French agent of the United States (a Frenchman). The intelligence was a little curious. I mentioned it and its author, who was then in commission of United States, I think in cypher to the Secretary. The other day this gentleman received a letter on affairs of business *through me* from Philadelphia,—some old accounts were its object. They had differed on them. This *member* actually threatens him with the vengeance of France (thinking him at Paris) on account of the intelligence he gave me from Paris! if he does not agree to do so and so, saying that by a single whisper to a certain person in Philadelphia he can be revenged. These letters were opened at sea and came to ME sealed by the post office of Hamburg. Adieu, my dear sir, yours most truly.[2]

XXXIX.

THE HAGUE, *3 July, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: The papers which I have seen up to the eighth, the private letters, all echo your reports from Berlin. I have almost wept with tumults strange long to me on reading the papers which portray the rising energy of the country. Gentlemen too just from Philadelphia of the 12th may confirm all. The sensation had become so strong that it was hazardous to utter a word of apology in Philadelphia, every where but in Congress; and there Allen, Harper, and others, have put these gentlemen on the defensive. My colleague too, General Smith [3] is round, and goes boldly into strong measures. In fact I now breathe and believe that war is the only evil we shall encounter.

Here is a new secretary of French legation—Mr. Pichon.[4] Your brother, to whom I offer my compliments, will remember him a secretary to Genet and Fauchet. He hangs upon our subjects with an air of apparent solicitude, praises the instructions which I lent to him, and talks with such amiable conciliation, that I almost suspect he is sent on purpose here to work as far as he can on me, to lead me perhaps to say they are amicable. Thank God, I think I know them and their ways. I still think they *fear* a rupture. I am convinced, too, that all they now hear of preparation, of the spirit and will pre-

[1] Francis Childs.

[2] Murray to John Adams, July 1, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," viii, 677; Adams to Murray, June 30, 1798, in Adams MSS.; July 3, extracts in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 329; Murray to Pickering, July 2, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

[3] Samuel Smith (1752–1839).

[4] Louis-André Pichon (1771–1850).

pared with disdain against them, ALARMS them. Still they will go on, plunder as much and whine more. Sardinia and France will be at war in less than two months. They are alarmed at Switzerland. Talleyrand was to have gone there, but does not. Will Prussia open her eyes? Yours, my dear sir, truly always.

XL.

6 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I have seen a Baltimore paper of the 26th May. The ship arrived at Rotterdam the 2d July. In this paper, under the Congress head of the 24th May, I find that Mr. Sitgreaves[1] moved four resolutions which, of course, were laid on the table at the request of two members—McDowel from N. Carolina[2] and Venable of Virginia.[3] The object of the motion was to authorize the private and public armed vessels of the United States to take or destroy any French cruizers that might attack them, or attempt to search on the high seas, and to retake United States vessel from French cruizers, and to authorize the public armed vessels to take or destroy any French cruizers within [ ] miles of the American coast. From the temper of the house I expect these will pass. Many Americans have lately been with me, among others a Mr. Miller of Philadelphia, who furnished the Ministers with 318,000 dollars worth of provisions. He has gone on to Paris to get his money, if he can. He left Philadelphia the 12th, I think, of May. He gave me many details of high animation that, with the papers which I had for a day been reading, put me into a tumult of feelings. The addresses it appears by the latest arrivals pour in upon the President applauding his career. They are, indeed, at last approaching that point for which I have absolutely pined for years. It is more reasonable to meditate than to talk about so interesting a spectacle as our country is becoming. South of the *ancient* dominion ("of chaos and night") I find nothing yet that can cheer one; however, the impressions which the correspondence must make could not have had time to work. They have had, it is true, all the experience of Europe for six years before them, and have not believed. Marshall's arrival and General Pinckney's will settle the mind in those regions. On this I firmly rely—unless France gets hold of the Floridas, or gives a *projet* to them that may embark them in wild acts before the arrival of these two men. Harper stands again, he tells me in a late letter, though he wished to go back to the bar; but he will now see it out. Ames[4] is better; he has been very ill. I wish that he were in a pleasant situation. I like him so sincerely and so admire him that I lament he is not well

[1] Samuel Sitgreaves (1764–1824).
[2] Joseph McDowell (1756–).
[3] Abraham B. Venable (1760–1811).
[4] Fisher Ames of Massachusetts (1758–1808).

set as such a brilliant should be. That Mr. Allen I like much—he has placed the citizens *at the bar*.

I am not sure that *France* will condescend to join issue formally. I still doubt if she will avow the state of war to exist. A *continuance* of her hostilities is all she *can* do, if our people are not French, and I am sure they are not. Where are her allies, if they are driven to join her against us? Where in two years their colonies? and whom to fall to? To be free and independent I hope, if my projet is not practicable. And if it were, the continental part might be made a State or States. Still, as to our worthy friends here, they will tack, lay to, and go as near the wind's eye as possible, before they will go into the tempest—but must go, if *France* says so. If Great Britain were not oak in head as well as heart, she would settle affairs here by disavowing any interference in their affairs. A pledge like that once given, and *other things* concurring, I tell you, my dear sir, the Dutch would retake Holland. That pledge not given, *France* will have it, and King Log may live at Hampton Court till dry air and natural pleasure grounds kill him.

The five Ministers, Gogel, Pijman, Taddema,[1] Spoors and La Pierre,[2] now the interim Directory, have pledged themselves to each other, not to accept a place in the new Directory after the meeting of the Constitutional Councils which are to be elected in a few days. This disinterestedness—for they would have been the men—is highly honest as well as politic, as it will abash their enemies. In fact all that they can do they will, to do right and to save the country. I tell *you*, however, that unless Great Britain would give that pledge, they cannot save it, as long as *France* lives.

Sardinia, the kingdom of, may be considered as a bury'd monarchy. All the tricks now playing off between Cisalpine and Liguria—*names* are things now—are guided by the administrators at Turin, Milan and Genoa, according to events. The French troops, now moving as umpires towards Piedmont, will act so as to embroil, or to overthrow that devoted monarchy. The allies of Rome must always appeal at Rome. I know much of this affair from a good source.

They are alarmed at the countenance in Switzerland. Champigny[3] was suddenly ordered from hence thither on Rapinat's recall;[4] in four hours after he was countermanded. Talleyrand was to go; then that was altered, and it was decided to *treat* with the Swiss.

Will P[russia] join A[ustria] and R[ussia] and Great Britain?

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[1] Reinier Willem Tadama.

[2] A. J. La Pierre.

[3] Champigny-Aubin, of the French mission in Holland.

[4] Rapinat (1750–1818), of whom Saint-Albin said:

"Le pauvre Suisse qu'on ruine
Voudrait bien qu'on examinat
Si Rapinat vient de *rapine*,
Ou rapine de *Rapinat*."

It is *said* here that the new Jason has gone to Egypt. Whatever is most improbable is most likely to happen in these wild times. I still believe he is loitering, awaiting Rastadt. Dear sir, yours always, etc., etc.[1]

XLI.

10 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 3d July came safely. My writing so constantly, though not with regularity, is the best proof I can give you that this is clearly a trade whose balance is very much in my favor.

Not long since I had the honor of writing to the President and laid down this idea, which I know perfectly may be mistaken, viz. that in these times good men must not only exert themselves openly but must work in the dark, because the Jacobins do so; that good means must be combined and worked in the same *manner* as the bad means are, otherwise the last will prevail. It was a vindication of a letter on a delicate subject which I wrote to him, and for his correction of the doctrine if he did not approve. But I tell you, my dear sir, that though *no means are sanctify'd by the end*, which is the doctrine of the Jesuits, the illumini, and of Godwin, yet the events which daily occur show that the good men have too much reliance on open force, and do not enough employ themselves in countermining. Hence they and their fair battlements are thrown into air, while their worthy sentinels are looking from the turrets and see no enemy. Nor can they! They are under the fortress, and, if to be conquered, they must be met with the dark lanthorn and in the mine. The peculiar character of the age, too, in giving one new variety to the list of dangers and hostility points out the mode of safety—open force may be fairly said to have effected little or nothing for the last nine years! The peculiar character of these times is plotting by principles, by bribes, by secret combinations, by letters and books, and by *words*. Ingenuity is not enough exerted to *find out these*. Except the two last, all is profoundly secret. The *second* article can not be defended on the principles of self defence even; but unless the men of honor will go into the dark, they cannot uncover the villains who work in it. I do not know how I have written so much on this, when I only meant at first to tell you that the populace of B[erlin] ought to have been kept to their old prejudices, and that the king has in my opinion taken the path which will lead him in some little time hence to the same table d'hotel at which the king of Piedmont (as the French papers call him) will soon be! I have for two years been thinking on this subject, however, and since your

[1] Adams to Murray, July 7, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 332; July 10, in Adams MSS.; Secretary of State to Murray, July 9, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to John Adams, July 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to Pickering, July 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

intelligence respecting Mr. Grove's [1] declaration in Congress I have had some solicitude—less than I should have felt six weeks since. Of Sottin [2] I had pretty early intelligence, and *knew* from excellent authority that he was the principal contriver of the insurrections in Piedmont and of the conduct of Liguria. Of course, as soon as I heard of his appointment, which was, I think, the last week in June, I wrote immediately to the Secretary of State a short letter, solely on him and on Garnier's [3] appointment.[4] Gerry had surely done it before. Lord! Lord! that poor gentleman is certainly the greatest bitch that ever was laughed at and gulled by perfidy. Yes "BELLAMY of HAMBURGH." [5] I have seen his whitewashing. But still this B is not Y. I think Y is one Haudville, I think living with T[alleyrand], his known man of confidence and his reputed natural son. Never was a triumph more complete than ours in this whole affair. This B went last winter to London to get money for the American stock in the hands of the poor Dutch—I mean the American-Dutch debt here. France, if he had succeeded, was, it is believed, to have got this paper in exchange for Dutch rescriptions, and thus made Holland the debtor instead of the United States to the Dutch creditor! The job was counterworked, and a certain bill was past—*entre nous*, as to the last. The Chevalier D'Araujo *knows* this B of H[amburg.] X, *entre nous*, is a Mr. Hottinger a Swiss, naturalized, and no more an American than Talleyrand is, who was naturalized and took the oath. He has kept it. I can not get Dedem's letter. It was bought up by government, and was certainly *imprudently* published by an *error* of a clerk. But in the *Chronique Universelle*, No. 2002, II. Messidor, you will find it.

I hear nothing from nor of Gerry. Discoveries made in a private Cabinet of Van Lange, Finje and Vreede, demonstrate a great waste of money—on V. L's account alone, 230,000 florins.

The Secretary's letter was extremely friendly and even affectionately so. I can not complain of it, but on the whole am grateful for it. It was private, and in the main, right! Yours, dear sir, always.

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[1] William Barry Grove, member of Congress from North Carolina. "Annals of Congress," 5th Cong. 1397.

[2] Pierre-Jean-Marie Sotin de la Coindière (1764–1810), whose appointment as French consul at New York was reported.

[3] Jacques Garnier de Saintes (1755–1817), consul at Wilmington, N. C.

[4] "I find that *Sotin*, late *French minister* at *Genoa*, is recalled from thence, and is to go *as consul to New York*. This, be assured, sir, is a very important event. He it is who has been the active agent *there* in embroiling the insurgents against the *King of Sardinia*. He is a dangerous man, subtle and contriving, and will do every mischief in the power of a wicked intriguer, with an experience ripe and fresh from successful practice. There can be but one design in *sending such an incendiary* from the *rank of minister* to that *of consul*, at such a time, and to such a place!

"*Garnier*, a member of the tumultuary convention, is destined *as consul* at *Wilmington;* which, whether in Delaware, or North Carolina, I know not. Both these indicate probably the last effort at insurrection." Murray to Pickering, June 29, 1798. Pickering MSS.

[5] See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 329.

XLII.

12 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Dedem's letter to Fynje merited your curiosity. There is very little in it however. I cannot obtain a copy to send; and it is not worth copying. He says that in an interview with Mr. Talleyrand lately, Mr. Talleyrand took him aside, and advised him to request the Batavian Directory *"not to put money in his, D's, hands—that the French Directory disliked intrigues and that such a sum would seem as if used for corrupt purposes."* *"This,"* says the sagacious minister, *"required no comment. Of course I told my colleague Buys, who entirely agreed in opinion with me, that it was meant, that* WHATEVER WAS DONE MUST BE DONE IN GREAT SECRECY." Nothing but a conversation with M. Rewbell,[1] in which R. laments the necessity of interposing in Dutch parties; for, he observed, it struck the world as if they tampered with their independence, advising him that parties ought to unite. A passage upon Meyer's favorite, Madame Montalembert, in which he promises by paying her debts to draw her over to their side, has roused Meyer, who has published like a true knight and called Dedem hard names. Dedem has also returned and published what doubtless he thinks a vindication [2] of his letter—not respecting Mr. Meyer—in which he avows that all this time he was deceiving the Directory here, and that his real object was to accelerate the change that was to overset them! That's a vindication for you, from a man scarcely bearded.

Yes, I thought this letter so curious that, though I could not obtain for my use a French copy, I got a Dutch copy as a favor from a friend and sent it with some remarks to the Secretary of State. It all helps to illustrate; it shows too how cunning the goddess grows, throwing deeper shades on shades around her failings. How alive her sensibilities are to [mis]representation, and how anxious to hide what the world, she thinks, consider clearly as her weak side! Why else this solicitude of reputation, when the steps taken, like the demureness of a whore at a christening, betrays both shame and rapacity. Alas, the *goddess is known by her step. Multo nebulæ circum* DEA *perdit amictu.* It will not do; a certain halt in her gait betrays her.

After all, however, the plans and management of France are deep and judicious, considered as means related to objects and to say nothing of right and wrong. These aside, and she has more sense than all Europe together. See her plans now making in the Mediterranean; her Malta, which, had Russia been five years of age, she might have had probably by consent, and manned it with Condé's knights; her island of Sardinia, for it may be considered as her's; her Greek islands, which she will swindle from the Turks; her Egypt,

[1] Jean-François Rewbell (1747–1807).

[2] Printed in "Gedenkstukken, 1795–1798," 659.

plan looking to India, the first stroke of which will overstrain Great Britain—even the avowal of the project!

Did you or your brother know a Mr. Jones of New York? Mr K[ing] writes that a meeting took place between him and Mr. Brockholst Livingston about a piece in Greenleaf's paper of which Livingston was the author, and poor Jones was killed on the spot, and that Jones was an excellent man!

The rebellion in Ireland is nearly done. They expected aid from France!

I am anxious to know how the capture of Malta, and the threat to the seaports in Italy if they admit a single British ship, and the fate of Piedmont, will affect the phlegm and the fire of Rastadt. These things are very important either as to peace or war. What a dreadful thing that there are not in Germany a PEOPLE, nor a COUNTRY GENTRY! Without these all is cold mechanism without soul.

I do not hear from home. I mentioned the late *hint* respecting a person having seen my dispatches in the office, etc., etc., in strict confidence. I see that he acts *right* now, and I reserve it both for better and ocular authentication of his *hand and letter* before I use it—and for any other season.

P. S. Sardinia, the Kingdom of it, lost. The French are to support the present government, but this is under capon of Brune a French general[1] under the pay of Cisalpine. France, of course, will in some time, after she shall have established her machinery through the instrumentality of this shadow of royalty, excite the patriots to demand a free Republic; and she is not the person to resist the will of the sovereign people thus manifested. Then away goes this Janus of Italy, this besotted and miserable biped, who with the best army in Europe for its size could give up his posts of Coni, etc., etc., etc., at a time when the days manly resistance would have ruined Buonaparte—and now, without a blow—his country!

This affair is certainly very important in respect to the Emperor if a war come on against him.

Buonaparte will keep 6,000 men in Malta, and send his savants escorted by two frigates and two Maltese gallies, and some soldiers to reconnoiter "the land of Egypt." One very pleasant thing will result from this searching spirit. Egypt will become known to us—to me a *terra incognita*, for I do not believe that Savary[2] was there—or further than Cairo, if there. They are also to take possession of Candy; for the Porte is with them, notwithstanding the influence of the Greeks at Constantinople.

Here the Haarlem Gazette states that Congress have ordered our ships to take all French vessels, etc., etc. It is not so in Sitgreaves's

[1] Guillaume-Marie-Anne Brune (1763–1815).

[2] Anne-Jean-Marie-René Savary (1774–1883). He was with Desaix in Egypt.

resolutions of 24 May—only those within [ ] miles of the coast, and such as attempt to make or have made prizes of our vessels. Again, my dear sir.[1]

XLIII.

17 JULY, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday I received your favor of the 10. I have been a little engrossed by the consul and captains who wished for advice, for on the 13th I received a letter from a respectable authority at Paris [2] of the 9th, informing me that an order for an embargo on our vessels had been sent to the north by couriers and to the south by telegraphers, on the arrival of M. Dupont at Bordeaux, about the 3d, in twenty-eight days from New York, who brought the news of our armed public ships having been sent out with orders to take and bring in all French cruizers near the coast; and that a *bill* had passed the House of Representatives to suspend all intercourse with France and her possessions. By a secret channel I learned the next day—for this excited my inquiries—that an embargo had been laid the 10th at Flushing by the French, and that it might be expected in these ports in a few days. On the 13th at night I wrote to the consuls at Rotterdam and Amsterdam; and on getting this, on the next day, I thought myself at liberty to put government to the expense of an express to Amsterdam to warn the American ships to set off. My advice of course on the 14th to the Captains and Mr. Beeldermaker was to send off the ships. Yesterday I had a second interview with a member of the ———, as I had on Saturday with another on this subject.[3] Every thing will be done that can be done to avoid any acts that may commit this government to a hostile course against the United States. We both however must think alike as to their *power*—of their sincerity and good wishes I have *no doubt*. *Ah!* *I* do indeed pity them to the bottom of my heart! Alas, they have been severely cured; the whole of the druggist's shop has past through them; bitter, bitter it has been. Thank God, our country seems saved.

The following extract from Mr. King's letter of the 3d which is an extract from his friend's at New York [4] of 3d June ought in regular descent to belong to you, unless Prussia may have taught you that elder-brothership is a feudal idea. At all events it ought to refresh you as a son and a citizen.

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[1] Adams to Murray, July 14, 17, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 336, 339; Murray to John Adams, July 17, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," viii, 680; Secretary of State to Murray, July 14, 15 1798, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Not a line from Gerry! he waits for something which I hear he calls "an ultimatum"!! *Note by Murray.*

[3] "If an embargo is laid here it is contrary to the wishes of *this government*. I have had an interview this moment, and received *confidential information that if* one was laid, it *would be contrary to their wishes, but that I ought to send off the ships.* To you, sir, I hope and believe that I shall not apply in vain, that measures of vigor may not be hastily applied to this unhappy nation!" Murray to John Adams, July 14, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

[4] Robert Troup. The letter is in "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 328.

Says Mr. King "one of my friends writes me thus: "*No public officer ever stood higher in the confidence and affections of his country than the President does, whose firm and manly tone of conduct has regenerated all our revolutionary character, and placed us on an eminence from whence we can behold with safety the machinations of France.* So irresistible has been the current of public opinion, that within a fortnight past it has broken down the opposition in Congress. An important bill which authorizes the seizing of French privateers found upon our coasts passed a few days since *without opposition!* And yesterday we received accounts from Philadelphia that a bill, suspending all commercial intercourse with France and her dependencies until the adjustment of our differences, passed the Committee of the whole in the House of Representatives without debate! and no doubt is entertained that it will become a law!!"

The islands will fall into chaos and negroism, if this last be well executed. I should like this to happen, and France after the war to regain them, revive them, and then, *know that we can wound her*, or any mother country! And we can do that, *and more!* and I hope *will!*

I wish your *plain economist*[1] were a fortnight with the President and a few others at Philadelphia! His German blood would have a quicker pulse. Dear god, they are still disputing at Rastadt about the feudal rights of the left-bank nobility, while the French are making conquests greater than Turenne in his brilliant campaign dreamt of!—addled in heart and head!

I will again try to get you Dedem's letter, but I sent to you lately such a miniature likeness of it and its author, whom you knew when he was young and who is now very old indeed, that you would not find much in it; but I will try.

How did your brother bear the port and uniform of a soldier at the review! Dandridge takes lessons of a French grenadier in the small sword, and I think of being expert at the back sword. We are quite belligerent, and both hope to shine in at least militia feast days, if this country becomes too hot for us. My dear sir, I am affectionately yours always.

To Timothy Pickering.[2]

The Hague, *18th July, 1798.*

Private.

Dear Sir: This morning I had the honour to receive your dispatch (and a few lines from you) of 28 May, with respect to my *number thirty-five.*[3]

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[1] The King of Prussia. "The King appears to be of opinion that a wise and economical internal administration is the best defence, at least for the present. He is, therefore, active, industrious and parsimonious. His conduct will recommend his government, if in these times any thing can do it." Adams to Murray, July 10, 1798.

[2] From the Pickering MSS.

[3] Cypher.

The intelligence which you doubt, is yet true, I still have great reason to believe. That it was not communicated from *Spain* is not surprising to me; it was probably not known to any one who would communicate it. This I know, that the principal discoveries that have been obtained of the internal traitors *of that country* were made by M. Le *Count Cabarrus at Paris*, and a list of them transmitted to *Madrid* where it is still a secret, not to be used until a favourable moment, though the gentlemen are watched. It was at the same time that he obtained a clue to the intelligence. He could no longer stay there, but went to *Brussells*, where in a very few days *his agent brought him* the intelligence secretly. I had received this intelligence from *the minister of Sweden*, the Count de Löwenhielm, a warm friend to *the United States and myself, and a true* opponent *of the French. He had* it, I knew, from *the Minister of Spain.*

Solicitous to confirm the truth, or to correct error, I was impatient, and went to night where I expected I might fall in with *the Secretary from Spain.* I found him. I knew that his principal *estate* was in *Mexico.* I told him that I had often warned *him and the minister against the cession of L*[*ouisiana*] as destructive *to Mexico* and other *colonies*, but that there was much reason to apprehend that it was done notwithstanding every principle of sound policy. He assured me on his honour that it was not done. I told him he might not know as much of it as I had known, and that I would assure him in confidence that in *February or January* there were some pretty strong symptoms of such a thing. He answered that he would in the same confidence tell me that it had been then proposed, and to ease my apprehensions he would state the whole affair, which he did with little variance from *number thirty five*, except that instead of *eighty thousand*, both on the side of *France and* on that *of Spain, half the number* was the fact. He told me all the particulars of the *Count Cabarrus* and of the discovery, and I found that the *demands and* their refusal were exact, and one thing more in addition to the others viz. one other *of forty million of rioux*, the value of which I do not know, nor does it seem as probable as the others.

Count Cabarrus, a man of talents and well versed in the wretched wiles *of Paris*, discovered these things and informed *his Court of it. Siguez carried* the propositions *to Madrid.* These were made by him, but the determination *of the council* had been previously arranged for their rejection. To do this, and *gain time* was the work *of much intrigue.* The *recall of the fleet* was the first object; the second, the change in the position of the *army from near the frontier of Portugal;* the third, *the rejection* of the *new minister Siguez.* All was *negatived.* So it is. Why they did not exert force I know not, unless we may suppose that the career against Switzerland occupied them too much, and that their views on Piedmont very important, because Rastadt promised little submission, might afford a solution.

The same gentleman assures me that there are more soldiers than I stated, though not all together.

As this was closed by a wish that it should be considered *as confidential I put it in cyphers.* With you, sir, in this way *characters* will be *safe;* in the *books* they *might* not be so.

He told me that if war breaks out under favourable appearances, it was very probable that *Count Cabarrus* would go to *Berlin,* provided they have the least hopes of *resistance* to arrange with *the King its* operations, and to stimulate that *court to the war.* As this last is merely his own forecast I mention it as such. Certain I am that no disposition is wanting.

This letter, sir, can be no further important than as it may tend to shield me from the charge of a too easy faith in this instance. So exceedingly wrapped up in mystery are such affairs that a judgment far more accurate than mine is might find it difficult to catch the truth between a faith too easy and a hardy scepticism—a rare faculty.

Mr. Soderstrom would be glad to know that *the minister of Sweden* is respected by you, sir, through me. Permit me to assure you that he is justly entitled to your esteem even. *The President of the United States* ordered me to cultivate him. He is an excellent man, and a warm friend of the American government. In fact I believe we have one enemy only on the Continent.

By a letter of 24 June Mr. Smith mentions Mr. Pickering,[1] who I presume is well.

I congratulate you, my dear sir, upon the crown of your labours in that high tone of the American nation which excites universal admiration among all governments and all nations, except our enemies. I am with sincere respect and esteem, truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

XLIV.

20 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Rastadt has not actually risen, but it's dissolution is daily expected. Seltz[2] has broken up in heat. So decisive are appearances that General Joubert was ordered on the 16th past to go to Mentz to take the command. Hatry[3] comes here. I fear that Joubert's removal is also connected with no good wishes to this country. He was Daendels' friend, and is a good man. Another French general left this with his aids yesterday. They are weak in Belgium and in the north. I think from Mayence they mean to make a vigorous push into Germany. In truth their positions are *chosen*—the Rhine, Switzerland, Piedmont—excellent points. What will Great Britain do? If she would move, 10[4] might I think. I know some hints that lead me so to think, and 11[5] too. As to 6[5] I cannot

[1] John Pickering, jun.
[2] See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 306*n*.
[3] Jacques-Maurice Hatry (1740–1802).
[4] Prussia?
[5] No available cypher will explain.

say. I should however hope much if one bouncing victory were gained. In what manner will 8[1] bring her force to bear?

The present drift of France towards us is to *lament* and to swear that it is surprising! Never more astonished in her life. Just as everything was getting into a very pretty way—directory trained by T[alleyrand] into the very best temper, all things ready, even the details per Mr. Gerry to negotiate on—the government of the United States take *provoking measures*. Mr. G[erry] will do *nothing*. Says he has no powers, and *will* go away. That if the United States would but send an envoy soon, things might be better arranged than *Great Britain*!! expects! Upon my honor this is *her* language, and this will be her language through hundreds of letters to the United States written by either fools or knaves, with the intent to divide, or under an absurd hope. I have REASON *to know* this. Fear not that anything by word or pen escape me that might incidentally lead to their plan. I listen. I would, if I could, listen to the lowest whisper from them to UNMASK their plans—to treason and to murders, if they would tell me.

Sieyès I suppose is costive—and presents none of the *mollia tempora fandi*. A pleasant scene you had with those wits of short memories. Otto[2] bore a very good character with us. I am far from being surprised at the yawn of the Abbé at such a scene. Doubtless there were p. philosophers there present that obey'd the gentle goddess at the same instant, out of complaisance to the precious abbé. I have heard that a certain Count O.[3] is of that school; he was probably present. They will soon have a king captive, to swell the triumphs at Paris; for him of Sardinia I consider but as a prisoner at large.

Nothing important here. I told you that the prisoners were enlarged last Saturday morning; those of the 12th June also, two or three excepted. By the bye. The precious casket's contents were prohibited by the goddess. They stopt at No. 6—nothing very important. The attempt to give up *Flushing* entirely to France would have appeased. Her nerves cannot bear such things! I wrote last post. I mean to have the act of 20 May, prohibiting intercourse with France, published in the papers here. I am always, my dear sir, yours.

I have heard that when Buonaparte sent his demand to the grand Master and little misses of Malta; *the Knights!* met; and a French knight formally proposed to give up. The other French knights said yes, we have sworn to fight the Turk, but not our own country. The thing was arranged.

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[1] Russia?

[2] Louis-Guillaume Otto (1754–1817).

[3] Adams asked for an identification, but Murray did not give one.

D'Azzara[1] is sick of his dear friends. I suppose he saved his paintings and *vertu*, and now is careless. His eyes are opened. What a wretched set are the nobility in general of this wretched continent!! I am almost daily beset by the gentleman[2] whom I mentioned as probably known to your brother—all complaining tenderness, conciliatory, full of wishes, and fears sometimes too—for us. Is there no mode of stopping things! NONE that I dare to think of. The government and nation have taken their ground, reluctantly, but there they are, and all Europe cannot shake them. I know of no way. I have no right to judge or go between them now. I write the whole exactly as it is with my remarks to the P[resident,] that he may know that their plan is to pretend that they are *surprised*, and all things actually arranged for adjustment, and that he must expect and guard against these tricks which will go in *persons* and letters. To *him* and *him* alone I write—in cypher and *private*. Letters from Americans to me from Paris hold up this hypocritical cant, not intending to deceive me, but because they are deceived. Such will go to the United States and be published. To guard against this I write to the President.

A letter of Bourne's is alluded to in one of our papers as holding up *hopes of accommodation*—last March. Poor Bourne is excessively uneasy, writes to me to vouch for him, which I have done to the Secretary,[3] and I wish you would. He is perfectly right in his politics and a sound good man, and will be now very cautious. And he says he *did not so write!* Excuse this Popelike "paper—sparing" way of emptying my pen.

P. S. Yours of 14 July came a little after I had folded this. Yes, the commercial intercourse is suspended till France does us justice, and past, I think I mentioned it so in a late letter, without debate, as I *heard*. Yes, sir, that is the blow that will be felt in the head and belly of the French colonies; and though hunger makes a tyger dreadful, nothing so tames man as very, very spare diet. They can be and I hope will be blockaded and starved into *some terms*. *Those*, I agree with you, ought to be *thought of* by the United States, their real mother—if to feed and support be maternal. *What* those should be, I am not so certain. Your plan is more feasible than my project in

[1] Don Joseph-Nicolas d'Azara (1731–1804).

[2] Pichon.

[3] Murray wrote to Pickering July 8, 1798, on Bourne's fears. The letter is in the Pickering MSS. In the same letter he said of Mountflorence: "I do not know what this active and faithful officer of the United States expects or wishes for from government. I only know that his embarrassments are very serious to himself, at being obliged to leave Paris before any attention could be given to his private concerns, so sudden was the necessity for his departure after the 28 Mar, when they got *the Publication*, etc, while Americans who had acted so as not to be endangered staid with safety and are there yet. Its being understood that he enjoyed the honor of your confidence was used, I fear, by some of our countrymen against him, in a place where submission or lethargy alone can make friends powerful enough to protect. I wish, sir, that the President might know his present situation. He would make an excellent commissary of stores or in the army—indeed a good officer any way."

the first instance. I will state my *fears*. That these places would be the rendezvous of all the worthless English, Irish and American renegadoes, and would be a little hornets-nest—a young Algiers. What sort of government could such fellows have? A negro despotism I fear, with a set of white Devils as counsellors and council. Baiting those *fears*, which I concede the moment that the point of government could be settled, and your project is comprehensive yet neat; and practicable by means which lie in a circle that we can fill without distant and independent contingencies—which were the faults of mine. Yours is the longitude established in your room, and mine a circumnavigation dependent on wind and weather to get at it. You see that my *project* works under other opinions, but I have half given it up; it was too dependent on others. Some show of resistance must be permitted to a projector. Would that the King of Sardinia had made even as much. But I have seen for some time that mine would be good, if all were finished as I wished; yet that it could not be, nor would not be, attempted even, at present. Of course I have no merit in yielding it, and to yours. Last year I saw a dialogue between Sonthonax[1] and Toussaint[2] (I think) in our papers, in which the subject of the independence of the French colonies was hinted at. It ought to be thought of, digested and communicated to our government. I have wishes but not much hope of this worthy "fat and lazy" land again. Yours, my dear sir.

Entre nous strictly—I should not be surprised if in some little time you see Count Cabarrus at Berlin. Know him if you can, and help him.[3]

To Citizen Spoors.[4]

The Hague, *20 July, 1798, and of the Independence of the U. S. A. the 23d.*

Citizen Minister: I had the honor last night of receiving your note in which you inform me that the embargo laid lately at Flushing by the Batavian Commissary of Marine at the request of the Commissary of Marine of the French republic at that port, on American vessels, had been withdrawn by your orders.

I was convinced that an act in appearance hostile could not have proceeded from the Batavian government, and I therefore did myself the pleasure of waiting upon you, citizen minister, in person for an explanation. The candor and frankness with which my application was received inspired me with a high confidence in the principles of the Batavian government; and the promptness with which the con-

[1] Léger-Félicité Sonthonax (1763–1813).

[2] Toussaint Louverture (1743–1803).

[3] Murray to John Adams, July 22, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," viii, 685. Adams to Murray, July 22, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 329*n*, 343.

[4] Minister of Marine. From the Pickering MSS.

descension of your Commissary at Flushing has been corrected, will enable me in transmitting your note to the government which I have the honor to represent, to confirm by a fresh instance of amity, those sentiments of esteem in the American government, which I am happy on all occasions to have the means of enlarging. Accept, citizen Minister etc.

XLV.

THE HAGUE, 24 *July, 1798.*

DEAR SIR:

. . . On my *question* we do not differ, I hope. Garat[1] and I do. Never *plot* good, but counter-plot evil. A conspiracy, for instance, by *good* means, but exerted in a *plot*-form. Every other means to be exerted, however, that can be drawn from the good men of the country, as is now done in the United States.

I believe we could do something among the 6 [Dutch?], if *Great Britain* would.

I fear that a partition of Batavia is thought of by France and listened to by Prussia. Can you not know. . . .

Dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

Gerry, Pichon told me, has his passport, and I *hear* is to come this way. I will try to send him to B[erlin?], to take a degree of Doctor in balancing.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.[2]

Private.

THE HAGUE, *July 25, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: Three days since I saw in the *Spectator*, of New York, of 26 May last, an article taken from Porcupine's Gazette of the 19th of the same month, in which I have the honor to be mentioned. The substance of the article is announced to be that of my dispatch to government, *number thirty five*,[3] and its matter is divided with a method that shows the dispatch to have been *well examined* and its object to be exceedingly laudable. Since I had the honor of receiving yours of 28 May, I examined, tho' not instantly, my dispatch *No. 35*. The publication of this article having excited serious solititude to me *and to some others*, I will with candour re-examine the divisions which appear in the public papers. There are three objects mentioned as *demands*, 1. 2. and 3. in the course of the newspaper order—the fourth is an offer on the part of France.

No. 1. is that which was the very important one, the others do not so immediately touch us.

In the first place I would remark that this whole business was wrapped up in a mystery that has not been fully explained, and it is now conceded *by the persons who possessed the information*, that though

[1] Dominique-Joseph Garat (1749–1833). [2] From the Pickering MSS. [3] Cypher.

my statement was that on which a reliance at the time, March, was due, yet that *since* there is every reason to believe that these propositions ought to have been stated thus: No. 1, perfectly correct in its nature and the penalty annexed. No. 2, as an *object* in contemplation, upon which negotiation should take place when Portugal should have fallen, if the troops had marched through. No. 3, as an *object* in the contemplation of Merlin to take place on the accomplishment of the designs against Portugal; and No. 4, the guarantee also as eventually the consequence of the rest. All the three last as a *projet.* No. 3 being the plan of Merlin not to be announced; Nos. 2 and 4, as part of the objects of negotiation but not as *demands.* That the demands were three, the march of 10,000 men; 2d. the No. 1; 3d. the grant of *40,000,000 rioux,* and these immediately.

The most that can be done by those who stand *third* from him who *discovers* designs like these, is to be correct in the outlines of the projected plans, and they must often mix in their statements thus obscured by the channel thro' which they pass, conjecture mistaken for assertion, and intentions and designs reasonably unfolded by what is avow'd, for part of the demands and *declared* objects. Much more liable is this third person to error when the whole is mysterious and secret, and when there are imperious obligations upon both parties to keep each his own secret.

The effect of such publications must be hurtful to the minister giving information of *this sort;* though true in the outlines it cannot from the nature of things be *proved.* These paragraphs when the minister's name is *printed,* or designated, are read with eagerness by the diplomatic men in Europe, on the one side as matter of triumph, on the other, to gain caution towards the minister whose correspondence might thus unfold *names* to the RUIN of themselves. The American government it is believed in no case deposits *means* of obtaining secrets, in the hands of its ministers. Industry and the confidence arising from private friendships are their means for coming at secret intelligence. I wish never to have any other. I beg leave to remark that it is impossible for any minister to avail himself of these his only resource, when confidence is destroy'd and even his society considered as dangerous, which will be the case if such things are published.

I have always; sir, considered myself as bound to state not only what was authentic and to be known by newspapers, but also to form opinions, search for probabilities to be collected from things not generally known, and to look upon the government as my most confidential correspondent, to whom I might unfold my whole opinions and all that I could collect which I deemed useful. You will do me the justice to think that this was both difficult, and hazardous to reputation, as far as it is concerned in a man's never being erroneous

in his judgment, and that the times which have distracted all Europe, have presented no very clear plan to my eyes upon which I could work; that the genius of the whole year from the peace of Campo Formio in October, 1797, has been intrigue and secret plots, and that tho' a time of continental peace, yet that, as a proof of this, three nations, the Papal dominions, the Swiss and the Sardinians, have in that short time, lost their independence by these means, and that in this time intrigues and plots have often been shifted, suspended or substituted. As I do not remember often to have dealt in egotism, I hope that I may be pardoned in this instance. I am convinced that the subject matter of this letter, sir, will be found to be important as long as any ministers are kept in Europe. I am with perfect respect and sincere esteem, dear sir, Your most obt. Servt.

XLVI.

THE HAGUE, *27 July, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of 22d I have this moment received, a few minutes before the post hour. I have nothing to tell you of, except my own errors arising from cursed precipitation. I requested Bourne to give public notice to our captains of the passing of a law of Congress which suspends intercourse (commercial with France). I did this on the authority of private letters to me and to Major Mountflorence, that the BILL was a LAW, having past all the forms. On the 23d I received a letter which led me to see the error of all these correspondents, who had mistaken the bill for a law, at least so I presume. I wrote to B[ourne] then to suspend the notice and, if too late, to put my note into the Dutch paper.

I have little doubt but that it is *a law*. I gave Champagny notice by note on the day the advertisement came out, that, though by my request, it was *premature*, etc., etc., so nothing can happen there. Alas I learn slowness under a hackle! . . . Yours, dear sir, truly, etc., etc.[1]

XLVII.

2 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: You must before this have seen Talleyrand's valedictory letter of 24 and P. S. of 26th, or 8th Messidor,[2] to Mr. Gerry; perhaps, too, G[erry]'s answer and also T[alleyrand]'s reply. All that I can say of T[alleyrand]'s letter is, that if we did not *know* them, if we did not

[1] Adams to Murray, July 28, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 344*n*; July 31, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, July 29, 301, 798, in Pickering MSS.

[2] "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," III, 218.

"You will remark, sir, that in this whole piece, which seems written with much address, that the leading idea on which they rely is the construction of the *terms* of the commission; and I know that they will attempt to fling the odium of a rupture on the United States under this construction, and say the government intended war, but held up a negotiation as a subterfuge; and that they sent *good instructions*, but marred these by the men who were sent with them. This will be *said*." Murray to Pickering, July 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

believe all they *say* as said more with a view to deceive and to divide, and all they *do* but as adding fresh stores to their system of intrigue, one might be deceived by some parts of that letter. To me it appears built on two things: first, *their view of detaining G[erry];* for they assert as the basis to which the opinions of the French Directory have a constant relation, that G[erry] was competent to treat, and that he remained thus invested. But that just as T[alleyrand] was prepared with his propositions and much of the detail, the *aviso* arrived at Havre and G[erry] deemed himself incompetent to treat; and that *this view* had nothing solid in it, but was adopted by them to amuse us as long as possible, see the extent of our patience and have (as they imagined) a good excuse even to us, when that patience should be exhausted. Another thing, too, the second, really seems very plain, that they are disappointed and a little anxious on the unexpected rousing and energy of the government and nation. For the language, abating some passages of inextinguishable insolence which is in their very marrow, is very, very different, indeed, from what the grand nation holds to smaller nations and republics especially; and especially what she has been accustomed to hold to the United States. They have lowered their tone. I have not *seen* G[erry]'s answer. I have heard of it through merchants. For every body can know what Mr. G[erry] is about, particularly when immense projects of pacification! are held up—except the agents of government. Letters to merchants state that he rejoices at the pacific disposition of France, but urges (what he ought to have offered as the *sine qua non* of his stay there,) the necessity of recalling the orders against our vessels, giving up loans, and not insisting upon apologies for what General Washington and the President have said; and that a neutral nation be the place for holding a new negotiation. This last I do not include in what he ought at all to do. I *hear* in the same manner that all these points have been acceded to by Talleyrand's reply except the last, which is not *negatived;* and that orders are promised to restrain privateers. But the information respecting Talleyrand's reply is not correct. I have *seen* an official manuscript copy of this reply on the 31. Admitting that they *can be sincere,* this reply does smooth the passages to peace more than any other, as it assures positively an order to restrain the privateers *in the Antilles within the limits of the laws.* So far it is an act offering *something* as to a sense of their own injustice—*nothing* as to the basis of our grievances, which rest among other things on *these laws* themselves. This letter also renounces loans and is silent, if I remember well, upon the other supposed propositions of Gerry. It is however free from any ebulition of insolence. This letter proves that the very idea of a suspension of commercial intercourse has gone home to their hearts, and that they justly tremble for their colonies. Thus the public

mind is to be amused and chequered into varieties, again, of hope. To these things I yield nothing of my assent. I am convinced of one thing only by these things, which we both I think foresaw in substance as their view in detaining Gerry—that is, that this is done to divide by Gerry and that they are alarmed! and that if we hold on with a steady hand, they will come down. In the meantime *events* will decide whether they will have an opportunity of being heard. If our career shall have begun, new prospects will open to us in the colony scenes, and the die will probably have been cast before Gerry or his propositions reach Philadelphia. Marshall had arrived at New York before 23d June—an important event—and General P[inckney] was to have left Bourdeaux the 15th July. But an embargo was laid there the 11th, and I hope he will go across to England and take his passage time enough to decide the complexion of the South Carolina elections this autumn.

One circumstance I will tell you in confidence, I mean not strict, which has appeared so important to me that I have written it to Col. Pickering in a private letter. I was a few days since shown a confidential letter (official) from Hamburg, in which it was said as a matter of great pleasure "*a Mr. Droghan has just arrived here from the United States on his way to Paris. He brings letters to M. la Fayette, to Merlin and Talleyrand from Mr. Jefferson and others, with the hope of averting war between France and the United States!*" So it is you see. This Mr. D. of whom I never heard is thus, *if the intelligence be correct*, a deputy from the United Americans, who brings his "Erin go bragh" and his calumet to be offered at the shrine of the Directory. I have thought it possible that the name *may* be D. Rohan, the Irish patriot, if he is *D.* R. As it was spelt, it was Drohan or Droghan. If this be so, their tone will rise, unless Mr. J[efferson] and others have been *reduced* and consider peace as the only means of the salvation of their party. Had I an 100 guineas I would know what this envoy brings with him, and what are their plans; for I believe that knowledge is, like policy at Paris, a saleable commodity. As it is, I think I have put the inquiry into a train that will enable me in my third from this to tell you perhaps a little more.

I had intended to bid you adieu here under the warning that so happily the small Dutch sheets hold out to me, but I must tell you more of Mr. Pichon. He is often pressing me on the subject of our affairs. All conciliation and assurances of amity, and with an urgency that confirms me in my opinion that he is ordered to do so. He corresponds confidentially with Mr. Talleyrand, has shown me an extract purporting to be from Mr. T[alleyrand]'s letter, and shown me an official copy of T[alleyrand]'s reply to G[erry] in manuscript. This he showed me on Tuesday 31, at breakfast, having

insisted the night before at the Spanish minister's to see me before the ceremony of the installation of the new legislative body, an attendance on which at ten till one, prevented me from writing to you. This added to the other he insisted on as affording every basis for a new negotiation. Among other *arguments* for one, he urged that a war with the United States would be to the highest degree unpopular, that many very improper things, which could not be justify'd to the nation, had been done. I told him as I had before done, after remarking *upon the inadequacy of* Mr. T[alleyrand]'s letter and some passages in it, that of what could now be done I was no judge; that in my opinion the government had done every thing, and had long been more patient than I wished, etc., etc.; that I saw no way out, and had no right and durst not point out a way, if I saw one; or step between the government and that line of policy which necessity had forced them into and the French Republic; but that there was one way too obvious to be mistaken, which was, a great spontaneous act of justice on the part of France; that no envoys were necessary for that. His idea is, and it must be theirs, that new envoys will be sent, or ought to be. I told him I could not say what would be the course which the government would pursue, but that I did not believe that negotiation would be renew'd by the United States until some very solid *fact* showed, proved that there existed mutual wishes on equal terms. His object is plain, viz. *to induce me by protestations the most fervent,* TO BELIEVE THEM SINCERE; that the objection to MM. P[inckney] and M[arshall] was *personal.* General P[inckney] having been rejected by *an intrigue* ! ![1] could not be unprejudiced, they thought—General M[arshall] being considered as *unfriendly;* this they consider as personal objection) *and to lead me so to write to government.* I have, I believe, satisfied him that this I cannot and dare not do, and that nothing but *facts* I would undertake to write on, and to draw consequences from, to government. He insists that these letters of T[alleyrand], with a solemn *official* pledge of *amity,* and the *orders* respecting the West Indian privateers, and the acknowledged interests of France on colonial account in the friendly commercial intercourse with the United States, are the pledge I want. I had promised him in June that his *name* should never be mentioned to government as he feared publication,—at his own request. I have mentioned him *once* only previous to that promise, to the Secretary of State, and *told him,* "I had mentioned him as secretary of legation, and as talking to me in a way that I could not account for."

Since, I have mentioned him and an interview to the President, in a *private letter,* for the purpose of giving my opinion of the course which I thought it probable they would take in trying to make amicable impressions; and, in particular, because I considered his

[1] It would be curious to know whether it did not proceed from the "disgraced minister." *Note by Murray.*

interviews as intended to use me for the purpose of preparing a good reception for Gerry. But I write not to government upon the subject. Take a caution from this, viz. I wrote to Bourne four or five days since to this effect, that their *language* altered and was more amicable, but that their *conduct* was as hostile as ever. I have no copy of my letter—a few lines. Yesterday I saw a letter from young Mr. Otis Ammeden at Amsterdam, which congratulates Major M[ountflorence] on the pacific appearances which exist between France and America, agreeably to Mr. B[ourne]'s intelligence from Mr. M[urray]. This is the first time I have been mistaken by B[ourne], who is a good fellow and sound American.

I will tell you also in confidence that this government had instructed Mr. Schimmelpenninck, at Paris and De Winter (both are warm friends, depend on it), to exert every means of producing a spirit in the French government conciliatory to the United States, as her interest, and especially on account of her allies, who will be ruined if France and United States go to war. His intelligence for fifteen days has been given verbally to me, and more particularly on the fête of the 31, and is, that it may be rely'd on that every step consistent with a just regard to France herself shall be taken to accommodate all differences with America—*they believed*. I told Mr. V. Goes that as to T[alleyrand]'s letter it was, I feared, too artfully written; that we were, I conceived from what I saw in our newspapers, infinitely beyond the point of being charmed by words; that facts alone, I suspected, could calm what facts and indignity had roused. I am not surprised at their efforts, nor at France as using them as the channel for her temporising policy. Early in July I wrote a short (private view) roughly to prove, that if Holland joined in the war, she would be ruined; and intermixed statements to prove that France herself could not hurt us without touching on the thread of any return of amity or the causes of the quarrel. This, though crude, they sent on to S[chimmelpenninck] I know that before, they had urged the necessity of keeping out of the war. Again, my dear sir, adieu.[1]

XLVIII.

3 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Just before the post hour I have the pleasure of receiving yours of 28 July. All the preceding also are received, but I have not time to look over my presscopies to find my letter that smells of Cumae. I *believe*, however, you will find a full explanation, if you will ask Mr. Childs in a confidential way about the contents of a letter from Philadelphia, opened at sea by a privateer, and which came inclosed to me, and was sent on by me to him at Dresden. I cannot tell you by letter. He can. I perceive the

[1] Murray to John Adams, August 3, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 686.

member is *right now*. I have advised C[hilds] to tell him that he will publish him—at his own time. If C[hilds] has been long at Berlin, my letter must have missed him, but will follow him I hope.

Schimmelpenninck was not received, I believe because his constituent was intermediary, revolutionary, and great events were apparently approaching, that rendered it a good piece of unprincipled policy to let things remain exactly in a state in which, if it was necessary to divide or sell this country, no *ceremony* would be violated. They have no *minister* here; that is the reason, at least the ostensible one, as there was but an intermediary government. But S[chimmelpenninck] does business there. The Dutch are terribly frightened at the posture of the United States, bold as she beards it with her grand nation. They love us for it, but are frightened absolutely into *action*—a great effort; and S[chimmelpenninc]k is now, and has been, working three weeks, to try to induce France to arrange amicably with the United States. De Winter aids in this; both, believe me, are cordially our friends. One other point these work to: if war come on, to steer Batavia clear. From their great efforts on the first I suspect they doubt success upon the last. Part of the *acknowledged* and conceded points by the French (him whom I really consider as ordered to talk to me and show me letters, etc., etc.!) is, that if the United States and France go to war, the allies of France will be totally *ruined!* and the colonies of France endangered. This to demonstrate their sincerity, as logicians cede weak propositions *in candor*, to take vantage ground. Of their sincerity to negotiate I have no doubt. It is not their interest to risk their colonies just now; but of any spark of sincerity to lead a negotiation to a fair and honorable end, I have no idea. If they could negotiate away twelve months, we are worse; they may be better, as their enemies may be fewer, and it would take six months to bring men into a neutral country to treat. Six more could easily be whiled away. In the meantime we, like poor Switzerland, would lose the benefit of COOPERATION, and, like her, have to fight it out—I hope with different success!—during a *long armistice* with Great Britain. For of a *peace* I have no conception for years. Much as I wish for fair accommodation I dread France's envoy at *Philadelphia!!* I have never hinted at this to P[ichon], who might push it to Mr. T[alleyrand], with whom he corresponds confidentially. Sir, it would be to rally every sort of Devil from the Mississippi to the Delaware, and his house would be the scene of all sorts of seditious deputations. The B[ritish] minister would also have his levee, not of Americans! but of *others*. *No, our government is stronger, acting by its true constitutional grandeur, in a scene remote from the domestic feuds, than in Philadelphia!* So I think. I see nothing which we can trust to but arms, always keeping a hand open to shake, when

facts show they mean to do justice. Besides, I do think that the treaty ought to be broken, if it costs a war, or it will ruin us. In my long conference with P[ichon] he avoided crimination; I had a fortnight before checked him on that score. I used none, except as far as an absolutely free exposure of the injustice, insults, etc., etc., offered us amounted to it. I stated my own disapprobation of the *sojourning* of our envoys, and told him I had urged them to be decisive in the autumn. He recurred to the President's speech [1] as a very grievous thing. I laughed at it as sheer pretence, and quoted Lepeau's 4 November. He admitted it was wrong. I told him that that had contributed much to rouse the people of America, and that I had felt it so strongly, that I wrote a small pamphlet against Lepeau, but could not get it published. I had done so, and went to Leyden and read it to Mr. Luzac, whose patience was so *satisfy'd* that he said he could not publish it. Indeed he could not, and no one I believe in this country would have done it. Now if ever you wrote an angry pamphlet you know by the time you have gone over twenty or thirty sheets, one's passion has so subsided as to leave little energy to struggle against great difficulties of translating *secretly*, and publishing clandestinely. So I gave it up, and with this precious shred of egotism I will beg your pardon for so much letter scribbling. . . . Dear sir, yours again, etc., etc.

XLIX.

Rec. Aug. 12.
Ans. Aug. 14.

6 August, 1798.

Dear Sir: Yours of 31 July came to me today. I thank you, and am better though feeble.

I think I mentioned that a Mr. Droghan had arrived at Hamburgh with letters from Mr. Jefferson and others to Fayette, to Merlin and Talleyrand, ostensibly to prevent war. As soon as I heard this, which was Sunday was a week, I set a friend in motion at Amsterdam to observe if he arrived there, and to gather his object. On the 3rd this envoy extraordinary reached Amsterdam—but not Droghan, though so spelt in the letter *shown to me*—but *Doctor Logan* of Philadelphia. Your brother, I dare say, knows this propagandist of sedition and philosophy. Yes it is Dr. L.,[2] with these letters as above. My friend got his confidence, and a sight of his passport. It is from *Mr. Jefferson* and *Judge McKean* guardedly worded, as a friend of science and humanity—the gibberish of hypocrisy. I learned that he would be at Rotterdam last night and start for Paris today, and I took a step

[1] That of May 16, 1797, read at the opening of the special session of Congress. Murray to Pickering August, 6, 1798, in Pickering MSS. Adams to Murray, August 4, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 350*n*.

[2] Dr. George Logan (1753–1821). See "Memoir of Dr. George Logan of Stenton," 1899.

to have him summoned this morning before the municipal body there, to say who *he is, from whence, whither going, what passports* he has? I know he has a French pass from Hamburgh. This I could not effect before near nine at night. though I set about it at five P. M.

My motive was to ascertain, if possible, in a *public way* all that could be got from him, for the two channels of my private information I could not readily expose; and this affair may merit future discussion and proof. I have taken steps to trace him at Paris, and if I can learn anything worthy your attention, I shall tell you. I do consider this as an infernal job, and the true high road to dependence in France—the very thing which the French Directory at this time could wish for!—a party envoying a Jacobin-American to them at such a time! They will use it as they ought. If they grant favours, they will and ought to expect homage in return! I had suspected, and so wrote 29 July to the Secretary, that this mission either was to assure France that the faction would *be ruined* if war came on, and that nothing but peace could save the remnant of French influence in the United States; or *something worse.* The first conjecture, I now rather suspect, is the *present* opinion and perhaps object of this emissary; for he told my friend (considering him throughout as *one of them*) that a war would destroy *republicanism* in the United States; for that, what he dared to call the British party, were certainly powerful at present, though he did not think they could long continue so. He entirely held up the government party, *i. e.* the true American independence party as British.

He told my friend that the suspension law had past. He wished to get on quick to Paris and to recall Gerry, who, by the bye, will I fear loiter at Havre, and I hear was four days going thither, for he is off with his budget of *projets.* To delay him one step at Rotterdam if possible was one more motive with me, that Gerry may be gone; for these interferences must tend more to divide France and the United States, or to draw them together on terms dishonorable and ruinous to the United States. I *hear* that another *express* vessel is sent after Gerry, but not from authority (I mean I do not hear this from authority). I can not yet hear whether the ministry of Rotterdam summoned the Doctor. I lament that I had not earlier notice of his arrival at Amsterdam and his intended journey to Rotterdam, for certainly I would have found a way to know a little more accurately what he is after. As it was, I would have had him arrested but that *it was impossible,* because he bore a *French passport.* I hate to exercise *power,* but in this case I would have even stretched it. He was probably off early; and I learned at eight P. M. yesterday evening that it was very likely that this gentleman would sleep the other side the Maase, as he was a traveller intending to go this morning to

Paris. Those paragraphs in Porcupine [1] I saw in the *Spectator* of 26 May. I have explained to the Secretary where the real project differed from what I mentioned. The whole was communicated to me *confidentially;* and on my word I do not believe that more than three more except myself here knew of it. I have since ascertained the true line, which was not drawn by my communicator in March; he had not had it in his power at that time to separate what was *conjecture* from what was their known *intentions;* nor their *plots* connected with these *intentions* from their *demands* openly made. Of course I could not distinguish between them, yet all was from very high authority. The *demands* urged by Siguez were 1. March of 50,000 men through—2. Louisiana and the Floridas—3. 40,000,000 rioux. Conjectures and partly discovered plots were connected with the 1. I have written complaining of this as hard on me; as cruel to others. I write now private letters to the Secretary, and nothing but publishable things in my public dispatches. Yes, I know Stoddert.[2] He is of George Town Maryland, a most excellent judicious appointment. Stoddert is a revolution whig, a federalist, a true American. He is perhaps Mr. Cabot's equal (I heard he was appointed), which is saying a great deal, and more a man of business, about 41 years old, marry'd, late a partner of Col. Forrest,[3] wealthy and well connected, and a man of sound judgment, active mind, not polished by very high literary elegance, but more, strong and clear. He writes well too, and is much respected.[4]

To Timothy Pickering.[5]

Private.

The Hague, *7 August, 1798.*

Dear Sir: Inclosed I have the honour to send duplicates of 29 July and yesterday. Receiving no news *of Doctor Logan from the government* [6] and seeing it mentioned in a Dutch paper that a new Envoy was appointed for France by *Congress*, I set off at ten at night last night accompanied by Major M[ountflorence] and arrived a little before two, he had not past Rotterdam. My object had he been there, was to have seen and conversed with him and if possible to have penetrated into his object and to have been guided by circumstances of evidence in *having him arrested.* I knew that he bore a passport from the French agent at Hamburg and that nothing but very strong evidence indeed would have detained him in this country under

[1] "Porcupine's paper announces that government have received dispatches from you mentioning the proposals from France to Spain made last winter. I wonder that the government continues to permit such publications." John Quincy Adams to Murray, July 31, 1798.

[2] Benjamin Stoddert (1751–1813), appointed Secretary of the Navy, May 21, 1798, the position having first been offered to George Cabot, of Massachusetts.

[3] Uriah Forrest (1756–1805).

[4] From Washington to Murray, August 10, 1798, see "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 71.

[5] From the Pickering MSS.

[6] Cypher.

arrest more than six hours. The peculiar way in which I obtained the original intelligence that enabled me to set in motion a useful vigilance upon his motions, confined my operations and obliged me to trust much to the interview I meditated. This did not take place; by day light every inn was enquired into. and he was neither in town nor had arrived.

The late change *in the municipality* assured my object, as far as enquiry short of *arrest* could be cary'd. I apply'd *to the President; he promised to try to see all his papers* under the apparent suspicion that *he was an Englishman;* very little it is probable is trusted to paper. I communicated my *object* freely, because in fact the letters which he bears, from whom and to whom, and their object, is known *to the government* and was so *before I knew it,* some hours. *They have acted in this* affair with the greatest cordiality *and promptness.* It did not require much force of reasoning to show that this sort of clandestine interference would widen a breach which it is so deeply *their interest* to see *closed,* besides *they* in the true spirit of experience *are against all Jacobins* and are *with us in all things in their power.*

We returned at *three* P. M. today, having done what could be done, and mortify'd at my disappointment.

You will perceive, sir, that every thing connected with *this government is in strict confidence.* I thought that if it were known at Paris that *this mission is discovered* it would certainly tend to break it and disconcert it. The disposition to effect some thing clandestine in this way and at such a time being I think proved by what is now ascertained—for it can be proved; the next best it struck me was to *prevent* any machinations in France, and to lead them to see the necessity of working openly and with the government, if they have an idea of peace. I have therefore informed the *secretary of the French embassy* of the arrival of this gentleman.

I have just had *an interview with Mr. Spoors. He told me in confidence* that he had just then received a letter from *their minister at Paris* who had proposed *a mediation of this country to Mr. Talleyrand,* by a note and in conversation confidentially; that he expressed in return his warmest wishes to accommodate, and said he would show the note and give an answer very soon.

If such a thing be *likely* to be proposed *officially* to me, I shall avert it, if possible, and will not listen to it in any shape, but as a *silent and confidential piece of information for you, as opening a side door thro' which any communication*[1] *might reach each government,* and as a thing not for the public, for I have no right to accept *a mediation as* a measure formally announced. It might tend to distract the councils *of the United States, and the Dutch, tho'* friendly, are not in a situation to exercise impartiality, and to be qualify'd for anything

[1] These phrases are not in cypher.

further than as the mere *channel of propositions* should affairs take that turn.

Great pains are taken in every shape to bring on *a negotiation with America*. This is a natural consequence of the energy and power of the United States combined in a view of the *present* state of Europe. It is *their* interest *to* commit themselves to *nothing and gain time; but of their sincerity* in the object of *negotiation* there is *no proof* that has come to my judgment. I hear of no relaxation in their plundering system. *As my private opinion I* on all confidential occasions say that *we can dispose* of their colonies, hurt them more than they can hurt us, and that *I do not look* for another negotiation unless their depredations are stopt and *facts* announce an amicable spirit on principles compatible with the honour as well as commercial interests of the United States.

What has been already done by government has had a most powerful effect in raising the reputation of the United States. *They* however appear to me to be no further affected than to feel an alarm for colonies—and disappointment. I am, dear sir, most faithfully always yours,

L.

Rec. Aug. 15.

Ans. Aug. 18. 10 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: On Tuesday, hearing nothing more of Doctor L[ogan], I set off in the night for Rotterdam, hoping to meet with him, and to arrange a little with the police to have public proof of his passports—and perhaps of his papers; but he had neither past, nor was he there.

I have thought it best (not hearing last night of his having past, but on the contrary that he certainly had not been in that city) to inform Mr. Pichon, who called on me at two, the whole affair as to the Doctor's object, letters, etc., etc.; and that the government of the United States would know in thirty days of his voyage, and object, as I knew of it in July and had written. I had it in my power positively too to state his language against Talleyrand and that of the party, and stated that one moment's attention to him, or any man not authorized by government would only tend to widen the breach. That the party was down, stript to a very few, and that if they wished for anything, they must expect it from government alone. If this Doctor be an authorized fanatic, which I believe him to be, I thought it would break the project to let them know at once that *the whole* was discovered; that else, they might endeavor to make something of him. *Entre nous*, Schimmelpenninck is trying to bring forward the mediation of this country. T[alleyrand] has officially answered that (so I am *told* CONFIDENTIALLY) that they will accept it, if the measures already taken by them to arrange amicably with the United States fail; but till they have been try'd, they decline it. This I tell to Colonel P[ickering] in a *private* letter,

and inform him that I do not inform any one in America besides of anything respecting this ticklish subject.

Have you seen the *arrêté* of the French Directory of France to call in their privateers in the islands, to give them new commissions, limiting their operations within the LAWS.[1] *They* pretend to hold this up as a measure of returning justice. I tell them it is *necessity*, and of self preservation. In truth the bare hanging up of the bill of suspension has worked at Paris like a shock, and has spread from the pulses of individuals interested in the colonies to the public bosom.

This *arrêté* is published, and was brought to me yesterday by Mr. Pichon as a peace offering.

Dear me! how delicious is even hypocrisy when it covers an acknowledgment of the power of one's country; tones altered, entreaties for negotiation; but observe, I believe nothing of all this, except that they wish for negotiation and a chance of exercising their "diplomatic skill." Certainly no man can doubt that *now* they want a suspension of our measures, a diversion of our strength from them, by means in the adoption of which they commit themselves to nothing except giving up points that were made to be given up—as *loans*, and *apologies for the speeches*, and a promise to *enter upon* arrangements on spoliations. These are stated in T[alleyrand]'s *reply* (in manuscript) to G[erry]'s answer, as points conceded as a basis. As to the *mediation* of their friend Batavia, it *can* be but a mere channel of propositions, if war do not come on immediately. No *arbitration* of this sort can be thought of a moment. Dear sir, I am always etc., etc., etc.

P. S. As I was closing this, yours of 4th arrived. I thought I had told you of Gerry, his applications, delays, and success, and departure for Havre, where he arrived the 28th, having quitted Paris the 24th. Four days from the joys of Paris to the melancholy barque of his country at Havre—this lingering is dying along out of France.

This moment I received the Leyden paper; its contents are highly important. I inclose you one, lest you also may not have before seen the news in it. Strange, we must learn these things from Dutch papers. In truth our establishments, viz. that of the State Department, are poor and niggardly. Colonel P[ickering] works more than any attorneys clerk—manually works. It is impossible that he *can* attend to the inferior objects, as transmission of papers, etc., etc.; he ought to have under secretaries, men of talents. This I have often urged in vain! If I can, I will have Logan arrested, if he is in this country. I have *sounded* government. At first it was observed he bore a French passport. Again, dear, sir.[2]

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[1] "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 222.

[2] Adams to Murray, August 11, 14, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 345, 349; Murray to Pickering, August 13, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

To Timothy Pickering.[1]

Duplicate. Private.
Flus'g, Brussels.

The Hague,
13 August, 1798.

Dear Sir: The appearances of a clandestine political intercourse of some sort, carry'd on *by a party in America thro' Doctor Logan of Philadelphia* [2] were so strong that I thought it my duty *to request his detention at Rotterdam until I could see him. I applied confidentially to Government to have him and his baggage arrested and an order to detain him* with all possible civility *was actually issued* 'till I could *see him,* but hearing the same night that he had gone on to Paris by a different route, *I had the order recalled. The order was officially recalled* next morning.

I am, sir, deeply sensible of the high responsibility which I took upon myself in this step, but times and circumstances justify'd my conscience and my judgment. At such a time, when the President had declared by his message that he would never send another envoy 'till he had proper assurances of a due respect being paid to him; at a time when every effort was making in the United States to weaken the measures of government; knowing as I do the reliance that the government of France has on a party in America; *the arrival of Doctor Logan* at Hamburg with letters *from Mr. Jefferson and others* to Merlin and Talleyrand, struck me as a measure proving the design of a party in the United States to negotiate something relatively to the existing dispatches. My intelligence came also from such a quarter as could not be doubted. His object was said to be to prevent a rupture, to do this he was it was said, furnished with letters etc. etc. to etc. etc.

About a week afterwards I was inform'd by a gentleman of great respectability (whose name shall be given if it be necessary) that he had seen *the Doctor,* who show'd him a passport or open letter *signed by Mr. Jefferson and Judge MacKean* and told him that he was bound to Paris.

On the 9th I saw in the enclosed paper of Leyden, Mr. Harper's declaration respecting a conspiracy. The coincidence of this with the arrival *of the Doctor* and his declared objects—declared to confidants only—the knowledge of the letters which he bore, to such men as a Director and the Minister of foreign affairs of France, his passport, with his passport from the French political agent at Hamburgh, together with the negative proof arising from the avoiding to see the consul of the United States at Hamburgh, and bearing no passport from the government of the United States, led me to believe that his journey to Paris was a political interference between the government

[1] From the Pickering MSS. [2] Cypher.

of the United States and that of France—a mission bearing as much authenticity as men in high station, but incompetent by our Constitution to hold political foreign relations, could give him—that such a mission in the existing state of things, even if *the Doctor's* object was merely to avert war, was in the greatest degree dangerous, as it would tend to foster the wishes of France to make use of a party in the United States at the expense of Government, break in upon the effects which the idea of union and energy were certainly producing, and open a new source of influence, even by any concessions which France might make to oblige a party, in points on which even the government of the United States had failed. In fact I considered him as a missionary authorised by individuals to act in political relations and therefore worthy of examination at least *by the minister of the United States.*

Taking into view the mysterious nature of a mission whose object or part of it was communicated at Hamburgh to *political agents of other nations* but concealed from *the agent of the United States,* knowing also that *the Doctor* had confided something which *Mr. Pitcairn's* friend was enjoined rigid secrecy upon, relative to his object at Paris; considering the critical posture of our affairs and the well known temper of the French government to make use of private deputations for the purpose of dividing a nation and destroying its sovereignty, on pretence of the will of the people being at variance with that of the government, *I did think myself bound to see this agent,* and I could not be certain of an opportunity *of examining him or his papers except I had him detained.* A mission from unauthorised men at such a crisis I conceived to be the most dangerous measure, and the point to which France would wish to bring us, as she did Genoa, Venice, Holland and Switzerland at a period when the government of each of these was attempting by *regular means* to avert their destinies. *I therefore intended to have him arrested* and had he been, *I would have examined his papers.* Never having seen him to my knowledge, I certainly acted from no malice personally. I submit the whole of my conduct to government confidentially if they please. He must have pass'd on by Gouda and not by Rotterdam, as I have received constant intelligence *from my friend the President of the Echevins (sheriffs) of Rotterdam who rules the police and who in consequence of my request when I was there on Wednesday last would have examined him and seen his papers* as far as possible *without* his arrest, and independent *of any order.* All this has been exceedingly painful to me; but in such times I thought hazards of responsibility due to the cause of the government which I have the honour to represent. I am with the highest respect and sincerest esteem, dear sir, truly yours, etc.

LI.

14 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I will tell you confidentially (I have so written to the Secretary of State) that I requested an order on Friday morning for the Doctor's arrest, till I could examine him. At night I had reason to believe that he had already past to Paris, and I recalled the order. This was a strong measure. I know it; but these times demand some hazards. Relying highly on your judgment, and feeling your friendship with a sincere pride, I beg you tell me your opinion right down and *entre nous* on this step; and generally inform me what steps you think a minister may justify respecting arrests, search of papers, etc., etc.; and when there are strong circumstances to authorise a suspicion of a clandestine political intercourse between *individuals* and a French Directory and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I thought I was perfectly right, though not perfectly safe. From Hamburgh, I learned day before yesterday, that a Mr. Benjamin Hichborn has arrived there; and I know by a letter yesterday from Amsterdam that he wishes Dr. Logan to wait for him at Amsterdam, that both may go on to Paris together. H[ichborn] is a thorough Jacobin.

I have put some machinery in motion at Paris, which I hope may afford us a glimpse of their objects and conduct.

Is not the Hero of Italy beaten by Nelson? We *hear* so. I am, my dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc.[1]

LII.

17 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Mr. B. Hichborn did not wish to see Doctor L[ogan], but some other friend at Amsterdam. From Mr. B[ourne]'s letter I concluded it was the Doctor. Mr. B[ourne] himself informs me it is a mistake.

Mr. Luzac has given place to an address from the military of all Jersey Governor Howell,[2] an old Whig officer and an able man, at their head—great spirit and some poignancy in it. The answer too caught the poignancy and returned it. They were so excellent, and at such great weight in the scale of the Union, that I enclosed them with descriptions of official characters and prest L[uzac] to publish them. I see he has. He is our steady friend on all occasions. The affair of 12th June saved his paper in its new character, as it was intended by the usurpers of 22d January to entirely suppress that paper, on account of the extracts and abridgment which he published of X, Y, etc.

I hear not from America. The enclosed scraps[3] are all I have. They [are] from a friend in Europe. Baltimore has subscribed in

[1] Adams to Murray, August 15, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 350.
[2] Richard Howell (1753–1802), governor of New Jersey, 1794–1801.
[3] None with the letter.

June 90,000 dollars for building vessels of force,[1] and every one expected war. The Senate had past a bill annulling all treaties with France. To dissolve the 17th article and the guarantee of our independence, will be worth all the bustle and expense I think. No news. I am just going to see the new Directory installed, at half past ten. I hear no more of Logan. Yours, my dear sir, always.

As I close this I have yours of 11 inst. I must send you Jerry's letter, as you do not mention it. I have not a moment to say more than amen! to your holy imprecations and aspersions![2]

To Timothy Pickering.[3]

Private.

The Hague, *18th August, 1798.*

Dear Sir: *A man high* [4] in the confidence *of the Government General* told me yesterday at the installation of the Directory that *I should receive a communication from Government* in a very short time respecting evidences of *an amicable disposition in France.* I believe it will be a more formal proof of what I very lately mentioned, viz., the proffered *mediation of this Government* and the answer, that it would be accepted, if the measures now pursued by France *for adjustment* should not succeed.

The only use that I can be of will be in communicating *to you confidentially* (if you so think it most for the public service at this crisis) evidences of what they *profess*, leaving the weight of declarations to you, sir. That the French are *solicitous* to have a *negociation*, independent of any preliminary conditions, and prepared to treat under circumstances more favourable to the United States than lately, I have now no doubt. If *I could thro' this government get* them to come down yet lower and make the assurances of a reception to American envoys "worthy a great and independent nation," it would be done in such a way as not to commit the American government on the point of sending any. For you know that neither power to do so, nor any disposition *is in me. The Dutch minister at Paris is a* man of great talents and warmly disposed towards the cause of the *United States of America; he does all he can to this end.*

As to Mr. Talleyrand's letters to Mr. G[*erry*], *I* consider them as *abating* in insolence precisely as intelligence of American energy and union arrived; as displays of deception and fraud, but of deception exerted to cover those condescentions which they are ashamed to make without fraudulent apologies, as deception to veil their real

[1] I do not admire this mode of attempting to support government, unless in desperate cases and rebellion *Note by Murray.*

[2] Murray to John Quincy Adams, August 18, 1798, in Adams MSS.; one of August 21 was probably of too confidential a character to be entered in the Letter Book; Murray to John Adams, August 20, 1798, extract in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 688.

[3] From the Pickering MSS.

[4] Cypher.

impotence and the consciousness of it against the United States in the eyes of a quarter of the world in which hitherto they have not been obliged to exert these last arts in this humiliating manner.

If the public mind could be undoubtedly calculated on to remain firm and in tone during *a new negotiation* without leaving it in a state unfavourable to great efforts, should such a one at last fail; and if the virus of *treason* be sufficiently subdued *in* [the] *United States;* and if it would be possible to uphold defensive and preparatory measures during so long an interval (for it would take ten months), *I should suppose that a negotiation* might be hazarded. *I do not write thus* to any one, sir, yourself excepted. If to any in future, it will be confidentially *to the President.* Paris papers state Mr. Gerry to have gone on board the *Sophia.* General Pinckney was to leave Bordeaux the 5th inst. The *editor, Mr. Luzac,* of the within paper, hazards a little in obliging me, or rather manifesting his zeal for our cause in publishing what you will find in it. Had not the 12th June come on, the paper was to be entirely suppressed on account of his extracts respecting X and Y. I am with sincere esteem most truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

To Timothy Pickering.[2]

Private.

The Hague, *23 August, 1798.*

Dear Sir: It was in vain to attempt to regulate the communication of the intelligence respecting the mediation before mentioned, in the way I wished, that is, in such a manner as that the knowledge of it should have been confined to the three governments concerned. Yesterday a repetition of what appeared on the nineteenth in a Dutch paper, appeared with more form, and as "*authentic*" intelligence, "that Batavia had offered her mediation to France, who accepted it with pleasure provided the measures already taken to conciliate the United States did not succeed." This was the substance of the paragraph. Mr. Van der Goes disavow'd any knowledge of it, and expressed his regret at its appearance.

The enclosed "*confidential communication*" as it was marked by Mr. Van der Goes is from the Batavian government. The reason why it is not authenticated I am informed by Mr. Van der Goes, on whom I waited for an explanation this morning, is, "*that the United States may, if it be agreeable to them, avail themselves of this knowledge of the dispositions of this government*"; that an authenticated paper officially and formally offering the mediation would place this government in an awkward predicament, because it might be refused on grounds that could not be pleasing to this country and thus expose them; that this paper, together with the verbal communications made

[1] Received January 24, 1799.

[2] From the Pickering MSS.

to me, would be sufficient to let the government of the United States see that, if it were agreeable to them, they may avail themselves of this government as a channel, as intermediary ground, through which the United States and France might make approaches and sound each other. That is all I believe, sir, that they mean by a tender of mediation. They say that Mr. Schimmelpenninck had no orders to make an official offer of mediation. He made an unofficial one and Mr. Talleyrand answered by an *official* note.

It is possible that the first suggestion of this came from Mr. Talleyrand; it is also probable that the publication of it here is from the French, who would give an *appearance* of a conciliatory disposition in the eyes of America and Europe. It may also have come from some Dutch individual, (for it has been *reported* from Paris) to give an éclat of independence and importance to this nation by publishing it.

Not having heard from the United States since I had your favour of 28th May I neither can, nor have any right to form an opinion, on the intentions of the American government. As yet from the published letters of Talleyrand I do not see the *assurances* which the President declares in his message of 21 June to be *sine quibus non* of any other embassy. The enclosed will I understand be sent to Mr. Van Polanen. I have mentioned in July the approaches to the present step of this business.

Mr. Van Polanen will not be ordered to make an official communication, but a confidential one to you, sir.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the letter of Mr. Talleyrand to Mr. Gerry at Havre, covering the *arrêté* of which they boast, but of which no one here is the dupe, as it is to bring the conduct of their West India privateers merely within the provisions of those very laws which constitute part of American wrongs. I do not send it for any thing more than as purporting to be a copy of that letter as it was given to me by Mr. Pichon; as such and I supposed that it might arrive, such as it is, before Mr. Gerry, who I hear has sailed from Havre. General Pinckney left Bourdeaux in a Prussian [vessel] called *The Hope of Emden*, I think, on the 7th inst. I am with the greatest respect and esteem, dear sir, your mo. ob. sert. etc. etc.

P. S. A few days since I enclosed a copy of the enclosed "confidential communication," to the President in great haste, as I had just received it. Of Dr. Logan I *hear* through private letters that he has private interviews with Mr. Talleyrand and abuses the American government, avows the people estranged from it by its severities, and insists however on a redress of our grievances, and that France must do this promptly. One letter insinuates that he speaks as if he was authorized, sometimes. These letters are from individuals, and I believe the intelligence, particularly of his abuse, etc., etc., etc.

Colonel Hichborn has not yet passed. It was not Logan whom he wished to meet at Amsterdam but his nephew [1] I think. I am told his objects, however, are apparently merely mercantile and speculation.

The French deny with infinite solicitude that Logan brought letters to Merlin and Talleyrand, and that he has any political business at all, but I know better. It is *something* however to bring them to forswear their friends.

LIII.

24. AUGUST, '98.

DEAR SIR: The Dutch offer their mediation as I told you, and I inclose the *informal* paper to the President and Secretary of State—*privately*, for it was given me *confidentially*. They fear to have a formal offer of mediation rejected on grounds that might be painful to them. They are *very sincere*, God knows, in their wishes for peace, particularly since our ENERGY has pointed out a few thousand additional reasons.

No, I *think* I was right. I foresaw that Logan's mission would be soon so *notorious* that P[ichon] would know that I knew it. By telling him I told him of the vengeance of the American government, if L[ogan] were treated with, and also of the opinions of *that party* of T[alleyrand] to whom he is devoted. It has failed. They do secretly receive him, and L[ogan] abuses our government, and says the *nation are against it!* because of the severities of Mr. A[dams]. Here is a traitor without legal treason. Such language ought to be treason, if held in any foreign country. A bill was before the Senate the 7th July, declaring France and her people and dependencies ENEMIES of the United States, and all who adhered to them TRAITORS to the United States. I hear it will pass, and pass the House of Representatives.[2] Observe, Harper's assertion was 21 June. I am in haste (which is wrong towards you, my dear sir), most truly yours.[3]

LIV.

28 AUGUST, 1798.

I have yours, my dear sir, of 18 and 21 instant. I always expected from your kindness a clear opinion on points about which I asked it as a friend. L[ogan] has actually past. However, I am well satisfy'd *now;* but I think I should have been right, if I had *succeeded;* and though hazards always cost me much pain, yet I did think that that was a hazard that I was bound to run. This is not gasconnade. I really considered him as *treacherous* and possessed of papers of immense importance. However, peace to this plaister of Paris philanthropist. He, and perhaps *I*, too, *escaped*!! Nelson left Naples 18

[1] Andrews.

[2] It became a law July 7, 1798.

[3] Of a letter from Adams to Murray, August 25, 1798, only the first four lines are entered in the Letter Book, probably for the reason mentioned on p. 457, *supra*.

June; it is stated he returned about the 6 or 8 July to Sicily, after going to the neighbourhood of Alexandria. This is almost *impossible.* I have a letter from Col. P[ickering] of 27 June. No news. A letter too, (open) for Gerry; a second recall, emphatic and cutting enough. I must write on other days than those of the post to you, for I have been answering Col. P[ickering]'s dispatch all the morning. I am affectionately, dear sir, yours, etc., etc.[1]

LV.

31 August, 1798.

Dear Sir: I so understood, that *the publication* [2] was stopped, and my numbers, which I ordered, ceased to come. Some symptoms of public spirit have shown themselves here. Their history cannot be long. On the 12th inst., as by the L[eyden] Gazette you have seen, this government published a restraint on the excesses of the French privateers within the waters and limits of this nation. It was sent round to our corps. Champigny, who had heard nothing of it, was astonished at its boldness, and demanded an audience. He spoke, I hear, with a good deal of freedom, and exprest his surprise that so strong a measure should be taken without his participation and concert. They answered that the participation and concert had been at Paris. He was satisfy'd and detailed the conversation in substance to his minister, T[alleyrand] at Paris, inclosing a copy. We were all a tip-toe to see an *experiment* made. The *case* soon happened which tested the regulation. Two prizes (Dutchmen I hear) under Prussian colors were taken near the Maase, and brought into Flushing. This, about 25th or 26th. The Dutch commissary there seized the prize masters and put them in prison. The French commissary demanded them, was refused, went away, returned with a few French soldiers, and took them out of prison. On the 28th the two privateers concerned were found at Helvoet, and were taken possession of by the guard ship and tow'd inside the dock. So stands the fact. Something more interesting has been understood since it happened respecting the probable fate of the regulations of 12th, which regulations, unfortunately, by speaking of their loss of independence if such excesses are permitted, may be in a measure considered as bringing into practice some principles of dominion which, if defeated by France, will wound the pride of the nation and lower it yet more. Now a few days since, about the 26th, Champigny received a letter from T[alleyrand], in which T[alleyrand] says no concert as alluded to was had at Paris; that Mr. S[chimmelpenninck] did have a *conversation* with him on this subject, but he denies that the concert supposed did exist. On the other hand, it is said here that before the publication, a copy was sent to Mr. S[chimmelpenninc]k at Paris, and that he laid it before T[alley-

[1] Adams to Murray, August 28, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 354*n*.

[2] Of Luzac's paper.

rand], who, with his own hand, corrected and interlined some parts and that S[chimmelpenninck] perfectly understood a consent and participation that foreclosed any objection to its practice. A principle of pride has hitherto very much restrained this republic from working in concert with any French minister *at the Hague.* They work at Paris. This has its inconvenience, and has nothing but an empty appearance in its favor. On the principle of the rights assumed as the basis of the regulation of the 12th, I understand the French say, by your treaty of 1795 we have a common right in those very waters over which you say you will exercise exclusive dominion. If this question be discussed rather than decided, some useful light might come from it.

You wish to know the members of the Directory. I have called them in my note of ceremony "distinguished citizens, etc."; that is all I know of them, except from report that they are men very respectable indeed in the sphere of their former lives: Mr. Van Hasselt,[1] a merchant of Amsterdam, and member (I think, President) of that Municipality; Mr. Hoet,[2] Procurer General of the Court of Justice of Groningen; Mr. A. F. R. E. Van Haersolete, procurer of the Finances of Guilder and Arnhem; Mr. Ermerings,[3] employ'd in different posts before and since the Revolution. Tholer, Zealand. They received us the other day in a very gentlemanlike manner, and seem to be agreeable men. They are of sound politics. Mr. De Lewen will be chosen today, I learn, as a fifth. Van Leyden says he is an uncommonly clever man. V. L. is president of the first council. Mr. Van [der] Goes stands *second* on the nomination for Director—Van Hooff *first;* but Van der Goes will be Minister of Foreign Affairs, I believe, today.

The measure of raising the embargo which is decreed in France, they do not seem to inclined to attribute to its real motive, the suspension law and other energies of the United States. No, the *Publiciste* of the 8th Fructidor says L[oga]n, the "*brave,*" has received it as a present from a Directorial dinner! The Dutch are willing to attribute it to Mr. S[chimmelpenninc]k's exertions, which have been I believe *aiding* and have certainly been wise and sincere. Pichon, *contra,* is willing to attribute it to our conversations here. Their affected laugh at our "three frigates and one bomb ketch" proves that it is due to our attitude at home.

P[ichon] goes to Paris in a few days. I understood as much from him the other night as that he had been sent here to work with me; that La Forest (late joint commissioner with Fauchet, *vide* Fauchet's No. 10), being given to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, his being sent here, and the whole of the American affair being entirely surrendered since the middle of June to Mr. T[alleyrand], are all evidences that

[1] Jan Willem Van Hasselt. [2] A. W. Hoeth. [3] François Ermerings.

they are sincere, and that things will be brought to a friendly conclusion, if we will but enter upon negotiation.[1] I told him on his telling me this, to vizt. that all the papers which he had lent to me, and all that he had said upon the intentions of the French government he had said by order of his government, that, as I had often told him, I had no authority to speak with him or any one on this subject, but that I had seized the opportunity which his correspondence with the minister afforded, of incessantly and candidly displaying the only principles upon which the peace could be secured and war averted; that I had wished to open the eyes of his government by convincing him of certain truths respecting America before it was too late, but had done this without order or suggestion from any one. He said that a great change had taken place in the mind of his government on American affairs, that it was now clear to them that they had been deceived by men who meddled on both sides of the water.

He had mentioned the paragraph which you will see in Luzac's paper about L[oga]n. I referred to that, and mentioned his assurances that L[ogan] would not be treated with nor attended to. He said the paragraph was taken from an anarchial paper—and that he attributed it to the *Americans* at Paris. He gave me a manuscript copy of the *arrêté* taking off the embargo, in the beginning of the conversation, and offered to show me an authenticated copy in his hand.

He stated over and over as he had often done the interests which France had in not going to war with us—loss of colonies, junction with England, future fortune of America as a powerful nation—in fact the sweetest flattery to my ears in developing the power and fortunes of America, urging, pressing a negotiation. But the post hour arrives. Yours of 24, you will perceive, reached me this morning. Yours, dear sir.

Gerry is at Portsmouth—chased in.[2]

To Timothy Pickering.[3]

Private.

1 September, 1798.

Dear Sir, *Mr. Pichon* was sent here, as I suspected from the first conversation which I had with him in June, by his government to aid, as he avows, his government, in bringing about an amicable adjustment of disputes with the United States. He told me so the 29th August at the Spanish minister's concert in a long conversation

[1] See Talleyrand to Pichon, August 28, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," IX, 262.

[2] Murray to Pickering, September 1, 1798, in Pickering's MSS.; Adams to Murray, September 1, in Adams MSS.; September 4, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 359.

[3] From the Pickering MSS.

which I had with him, alone. He mentioned this incidentally, when in the course of our conversation I mentioned the doubts which we might justly entertain respecting *the issue of the negociation*, which he asserts France wishes for, should new events arise in Europe pending that work. To add proofs of the disposition of his government he said among other things, that the change which had lately taken place in the management of the American affairs which were now entirely submitted to Mr. Talleyrand; and Mr. La Forest's being given up to Mr. T[alleyrand] and his (Mr. P[ichon]'s) being sent here, show'd that there existed sincere intentions; and then informed me that he had in truth been ordered by his government in whatever copy or paper he had shown to me, and to converse with me for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation. He declared that the eyes of his government were opened, that they saw the full importance of putting an end to the dispute, that our relation to their colonies and trade, and the future strength of the United States in prospect within a few years, were points of view under which it was their interest, the avowal of which was an evidence of their wishes to put an end to every dispute that endangered our esteem; that La Forest was well known to be friendly to the United States; that it was true he himself had a sincere attachment to many gentlemen who were not supposed to be opposed to France, but that his knowledge of America served him on this occasion, and from his conviction of the importance in a political and commercial point of view of putting an amicable end to the dispute, he was considered by the French government as a friend of the United States as far as was consistent, and for that reason had been sent here; that Mr. Talleyrand and Mr. La Forest and he would be almost ruined, if they failed to bring matters to a happy end. In the beginning and, indeed as the object of the interview, he put into my hands he said a manuscript copy (which is in his handwriting) of the *arrêté* withdrawing the embargo, and of the two letters from the minister of marine which I have the honour to enclose, offering to show me the official *arrêté* which he had open in his hand. These he boasted of as some evidence of the acts of justice which I had urged. He told me at the same time of a Jacobin paragraph respecting Dr. Logan which is in the inclosed Supplement, and which he imputed to some of the Americans at Paris. After I had informed him that I was not authorised to open my lips upon the subject, I told him that as to any new negociation I saw no expectation of it, unless assurances were given of a treatment worthy the minister of a great free and independent nation, and that even then I did not know at all what might be now the intention of my government; that these expressions in the message of 21 June were measured words which had a reference to two things, the causes

of the dispute and the circumstances attending the attempt on our part to settle it, twice; and that the assurances mentioned ought to be as formal and solemn as the declaration of the President had been. He insisted that these assurances were given in Mr. T[alleyrand]'s letters, the late ones, and also in the acts of the French government, viz. the *arrêté* on the West Indian privateers, and this, raising of the embargo. I said this was matter of inference, if it existed, and was not what I should understand as the assurances mentioned. Wishing to know if any mode of compensation had been in their minds for our immense losses, I spoke of this, as what I considered as absolutely essential if a negociation were ever again thought of. He said great offers of West India commerce would be made on that head as useful to us and to them. Now, sir, that I have troubled you with this sort of intelligence it may be right for myself to observe that, though I do not consider anything which this gentleman has so often said to me, as he now declares by order of his government, as official, yet in the peculiar attitude of our affairs, and the absence of the means of obtaining any ideas of the manner in which the French government *talks* upon our subject, I believed that it was my duty to write thus to you. They wish to produce a new *negociation*. To penetrate further into their views is beyond my power. If our country preserve its present dignify'd position, their ultimate views, if not sincere, would probably [be] impotent to hurt us. This gentleman, having exhausted himself here, is to return in a very few days to Paris to the Minister.

The enclosed letter, sir, as well as those which I lately sent copies of respecting Dr. L[ogan], are from individuals at Paris. This I received, the others were not received by *me*, nor do I personally know their authors. The gentleman to whom they came assures me they are perfectly worthy of credit. The gentleman who writes the inclosed, I know slightly; it will give you, sir, the impression which seems general at Paris respecting the Doctor.

Colonel Hichborn is at Amsterdam. I owe it to justice to say that his affairs are merely *commercial*, and concerning an appeal cause against Mr. James Swan to be try'd here at the Hague.

We hear nothing authentic of Buonaparte. Two French privateers which had violated this territory were, on 27, taken possession of by the Dutch guard ship at Helvoet. A misunderstanding exists respecting the act of 12 August of this government, restraining the excesses of the French privateers, between the Batavian and French republics. It will be explained. Mr Gerry was on the 16th August at Portsmouth. I have the honour to be with sincere respect and attachment, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

LVI.

Rec. Sept. 13.
Ans. Sept. 15. 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I omitted last post. I was excessively busy in making up some letters for home.

Yours of 28th I received safely. I doubt if there be any certainty of Buonaparte. Since the Man of the Iron Mask there has not been such a mysterious affair.

Two Americans, Messrs. Skinner and Hinckley of Boston, breakfasted with us on Tuesday (that also kept me from writing), just from Paris. They have been high French, at least Skinner has been, till within a year. They are now full, brim full of indignation and scorn, and play'd me one of the pleasantest tunes of satirical abuse against France and her ruling set that I have long heard. They insist that new convulsions will happen. Heaven speed them to the happiness and tranquility of mankind! They say that a great alteration in the treatment of Americans has lately become visible.

Pichon has at length told me that he was ordered by Mr. Talleyrand to communicate with me. I have not written to any human being upon his subject, except the President, the Secretary of State, in *private* letters, yourself and King; so that whether there be anything worthy of attention or not in all that I have written, the President will confidentially and silently judge.

In my last *dispatch* on Tuesday, I inclosed and *mentioned* (first time *officially*) a communication officially made to Mr. Skipwith of the *arrêté*, raising the embargo, and the letters of the Minister of Marine, respecting the liberation of American seamen. They say among the prefatory motions, "they will not deliver themselves up to the passions of the British Cabinet, but faithful to the interests of the American *nation*"—"a *people* whose liberties they have protected," etc., etc., "decree," etc., etc. They are sore and alarmed at consequences, if war be unavoidable; sore to be obliged to knuckle to a government and nation whom they have recently treated so insolently. By letters just from Paris, and from MM. S[kinner] and H[inckley], I learn that Logan makes little or no mystery of his mission, and the general conversation among the Jacobin Americans is that he was the envoy of the patriotic party. They add, while they execrate this sort of proceeding, that L[ogan] has done all in his power to prevent them from going to war, and to produce a better conduct in them. That at the dinner given to him by the President of the Directory he gave "an honourable peace with the United States," but that Merlin [1] said "No, sir, I shall give that myself." This is all dramatic. Yet it is all very different from this time last year, my dear sir!

[1] Philippe-Antoine Merlin de Douai (1754–1838).

St. Domingo gives symptoms in favour of your idea! In fact the *nature* of the affairs of the United States, and the direction of her views, are changed very much. At least great objects present themselves that were dormant a year since. What they will do I do not conjecture. Mr. Dandridge goes to Mr. King on the 20th as Secretary. He has long pined in health here, and wished to go to America. I have a great esteem for him, and we mutually parted with regret. I wish you to give me your opinion on the subject of salary. My own opinion is that the minister is not entitled to touch any part of the 1350 dollars of the secretary's salary. D[andridge] says otherwise, if the Minister has no secretary and does the business. This question has had no cause for being started till now, as Mr. D[andridge] has had his salary agreeably to law, vizt. at the rate of 1350 dollars a year; and if I have another, he will have the same. But I shall be without one near six months. If I take any in that time, it will be a gentleman now here. But I do not wish to have any, if I can do without one, till a nephew of Mr. McHenry[1] arrives. For I am absolutely almost exhausted—certainly to little effect—but by very unremitting labour, such as it is; and this climate is destructive to sedentary men of a sickly character.

I understand that the French government *approves* of the regulation and (*practise* under it) of 12 August against their privateers here. Affectionately, dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. As I just have yours of 1 inst. I will trouble you, my dear sir, with a few remarks on which you will reflect, and as with your usual kindness and cordiality give me very explicitly your idea.

They do consider T[alleyrand]'s latter letters, connected with the *arrêté*, and the raising the embargo, and his last to Mr. Gerry at Havre, which was a renewal of assurances of an amicable nature, as *the assurances*. I conversed with Mr. P[ichon] as soon as I saw the Leyden paper that had the message of 21 June. In this, which pleased him very much *because*, said he, *the President has as much as said that if France gave him* THE ASSURANCES, *he would treat, and we have anticipated this and given the assurances*. I differed from him on this, and told him that the expressions in that message were doubtless very measured, and that the conditional terms had a precise relation to the causes of the dispute and the circumstances under which it had been treated by them on the two attempts to negotiate. That free and independent probably had a reference to those parts of the dispute which had a bearing upon our freedom to act as an independent nation. So far as to the causes. That "great and powerful" were an assertion of ourselves by which we meant to abide in any struggle, and probably might be referred to the circumstances of offence, under which our offers of amity had been rejected with

[1] John McHenry.

some appearances that could only be excused in policy towards a St. Marino or any little mountain state; but which would not be tolerated by a nation like ours which was actually, intrinsically and relatively, particularly, a very powerful one. Of course that as the apparent denial of all this had been by two great *acts* of the French government the admission of it would be expected, I believed, in a manner and by matter as explicit and avowed as the acts had been that rendered these assurances necessary. That his government, as I had often stated to him, had a fair and honorable pretext under which it could retract its career, and make assurances, vizt. "the recent knowledge of the *published instructions*, which he had translated the last of June and sent on, and which agreeably to Mr. Talleyrand's letter to him about the 15 July, were considered as exceedingly satisfactory, and by himself as great, cordial and magnanimous. That till now his government had not had the pretext to save that pride or wound which they might think would be inflicted in the face of Europe. That they ought to seize on this and make good a retreat which would do them honor, and which the temper of all neutral states rendered a very politic thing. I had often stated my doubts candidly to him, viz. if the assurances were given, and it were for *me* to decide whether there should be a new negotiation, I should hesitate very much. Why? Because, though I believe that you wish to *negotiate*, I see nothing in that but what merely suits your policy; but I see no change in your way of thinking on the United States as to those great principles, which in truth are the dispute; and I do not see but that you would only negotiate till any new victory intoxicated the French government as B[onaparte]'s peace[1] did last fall." He attempted to persuade me that their eyes were opened; that they saw how deeply deceived they had been; that they saw our relative importance and acknowledged it by their present conciliatory turn; that in European negotiations with a neighbor they must act as they did, but with the United States, after two negotiations had failed, they would close this third fairly and honorably; that they knew, if they were to be guilty of such perfidy to the United States, they must never expect her friendship; and that they would lose too much to hazard such a measure; and professed the sincerity of his government.

Last night he sent me a note wishing to call. I appointed seven. He came, said he had stated my conversations to Mr. T[alleyrand] confidentially, my objections and doubts, and had received at Middemblech[2] (I think is the name) a letter from Mr. Talleyrand which he returned to show me, before his little tour was ended. It was an *official* letter from Talleyrand to him; he was, he said, ordered to show it to me. It was, on my recollection and once reading, a sort

[1] Of Campo Formio. [2] Medemblik, in North Holland, would be a strange route for Paris.

of assurance on some of the points of our conversation, and pretty explicit and very soothing, with a small spice for M. Murray who was a loyal American, neither F[rench] nor B[ritish]. This he show'd me in high confidence, vizt. that nothing he said or did should be *published*. They *dread* our presses!! I assured him of this *at first*, and often since. My object has been to let certain truths reach his government through him, and to lead them to deeds and words that, without committing our government to anything, might put something in their power. T[alleyrand] denies solemnly any political intercourse with Logan, and says that he informed Logan that it was his wish that he should postpone agricultural experiments to some other period, and nearer home. P[ichon] says that Mr. T[alleyrand] was offended at L[ogan's] appearance there, and at the noise he made, and was solicitous about the impression this might make on our government. Anything in this may go to the *P[resident] privately*. Dear sir, yours.

NOTE. Hichborn's business is purely commercial, and a law suit with James S. Swan[1] of Boston.

Do me the favor on the receipt of this to give me your opinion in five words respecting *salary*—when the Minister has no secretary.

What news does Mr. T. Adams bring from Dresden?[2]

LVII.

Rec. Sept. 17.

Ans. Sept. 18. THE HAGUE, *11 September, 1798*.

DEAR SIR: Your 4 September reached me yesterday. Logan carries out propositions I hear with him.

Mr. Schimmelpenninck and Admiral De Winter breakfasted with me this morning—just from Paris. They say that Logan certainly had nothing in view but to prevent war, and that he spoke plainly as to the necessity of mild measures. As to his party, I believe that it is not subdued, but humbled. As to conviction, the best of them have left them upon it. The remainder must be kept down by public opinion and constables—their disease and disaffection are moral complaints. No political remedies cure such, but I do think that they are as contemptible in the eyes of America as ingenious wicked men can be. I agree with you. I have long urged that the first opportunity favorable to popularity, for that is one of our divinities, should be seized *on to draw the line*, and to know in time on what our noble constitution had to rest. So many independent nations have fallen, and will fall (as X[3] will), for want of that line being drawn timely, that I have for more than a year

[1] James Swan (1754–1831).

[2] Adams to Murray, September 8, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 360*n*; Murray to Pickering, September 8, in Pickering MSS.

[3] Prussia?

thought it essential to us. But there will be no civil war. The strength, wealth, virtue and science of America are with government. Rest assured of it, France is impotent towards the United States, or she would not have knuckled thus of late. Yet I can easily suppose that her present condescensions have ambiguity in them. If her party is weak, too weak, they conciliate; if strong, strong enough, they form a fund for sedition to argue from, to say, see! France does justice, yet you will quarrel. Nothing but British gold can account for this! But, sir, her party is, to my belief, contemptible, and would shrink from a struggle.

Schim[melpenninc]k told me he saw Logan often. The first time he saw [him] he addressed him thus: "If, sir, as some say, you come here to gain the influence of France in support of a party in your country, I consider you as the worst of men; if you have no such object, but as an individual try to prevent war without that object, I shall respect your principles, and I beg you so to tell Mr. Jefferson from me, sir." He says L[ogan] confessed to him that having seen *Holland*, and Belgium, and Paris, many of his opinions were altered. S[chimmelpenninck] considered him as an enthusiast. L[ogan] told him that his object was not to gain the influence of France to a party, but to prevent war. S[chimmelpenninck] assures me that whatever may be their *motives*, he is convinced that they are sincere in their wishes to negotiate and settle amicably; and that they will give the most *positive assurances* to receive any minister the President may send. S[chimmelpenninck] has worked a good deal to open their eyes; his own have been opened only about a year. He is now *convinced* on every point.

I had a letter the 9th of July, which stated the acts. Now and now only are we in a state to negotiate, if it be policy at home to do it at all.

I have a sore right-hand thumb and write with difficulty. Yours, my dear sir, always.

LVIII.

14 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: *Holland* (?), from all I can learn very confidentially, is on the verge of a war with *France*, to join *Great Britain*. There is great uneasiness as to the issue, and I learn that it will be decided in less than three weeks.

I have sent a copy of the letter which I mentioned to you from T[alleyrand] to P[ichon][1] to the Secretary of State in a private letter.[2] All I aim at is to lead them to put it in the power of the United States to negotiate or not, and in a way that can not commit

[1] Dated August 28, 1798. See "Works of John Adams," VIII, 690; "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 241.

[2] Dated September 8, 1798.

the United States. In this I act very reservedly, depend on it; and merely state facts, or rather what seems to me to be their present views; but always as things which must be guardedly received, and always as confidential intelligence. At last, in Luzac's paper of this morning, I see General W[ashington]'s charming letter.[1] I am always, dear sir, truly yours.[2]

LIX.

Rec. Sept. 24.
Ans. Sept. 25. 18 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I forget if I mentioned that Mr. Maggorin, the French Minister for Hamburgh, had been here. He brought letters of introduction to me, though he was to stay but a day. He began by assuring me that he had had an interview with Tal[leyrand] the morning of his departure, and that there was a fixed determination to accommodate our dispute fairly and amicably.

From the arts of solicitude which are made use of I begin to think that it is very probable that they will make propositions that may cover the subject matter of our dispute, viz. indemnification by exclusive trade to the islands for a term of years, and flattering assurances and proposals for a treaty; and do this with the view of breaking in upon our *Union*, provided no negotiation comes on! I shall not be surprised if they make very open and strong proposals, and calculate upon the effect of these, *to divide us*, if they are not listened to. Whether, if they do make such, it would be sound policy to listen to them, even if it be practicable to uphold the present temper of the Union pending a new negotiation, is a question that is all important to think well of at home. If the country seems cured and solid, a negotiation might be risked—as far as I can judge, in the dark as I am on many points; but if not, if this energy which delights us is from partial sources and is not solidly bottomed, I should not hesitate to say that war ought to be a resource of *choice*. From my papers as high as 14 July I do not see all I wish. The South seems silent, and ready for either side from that silent reserve.

I see the French are prisoners in Ireland. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc.[3]

LX.

Rec. Sept. 26.
Ans. Sept. 29. 21 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I am but just settled in my new dwelling in the Voorhoud, and have been of course a little harrassed by slow movements in rainy weather. The Hotel des États Unis is large and even hand-

[1] Either his letter to the President of July 4 or July 13, 1798, on his appointment to the command of the provisional army. "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 15, 37.

[2] Adams to Murray, September 18, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 365. In it he mentions a letter of September 15, "not copied."

[3] Murray to Pickering (two letters,) September 19, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

some, but it is a perfect cave in dampness and cold! I have hired a smaller house, and a cheap one enough, next door to Scholten's and of the same size. It is dry, has all the winter sun till three P. M., and no canal. All the coals and grates and stoves that I could set in motion, did not give us one dry day nor night all last autumn and winter. Here I am convinced we shall enjoy better health.

Col. Hichborn has been with me. To me he speaks with liberality and conciliation. In fact, however, he and all such would go lengths, to us unwarrantable, for an accomodation. He has involved himself in French property. I believe has a house now at Paris, and great concerns in France; fears confiscation and personal injury if war come on. His doctrine, of course, is "Peace—peace, when there is no peace"!—as the President has pungently quoted to a half-way address from sweet Virginia.

H[ichborn] says that a Mr. Woodward, whom he calls a high federalist, has lately gone in a vessel from Bordeaux, specially permitted, bearing proposals from the Five Kings of Paris to our government. That T[alleyrand] at first did not like to trust them by W[oodward], because, said H[ichborn], he was a federalist; but Barlow pursuaded him it was best for that very reason, and so they were sent by W[oodward;] that these proposals meet all our demands. I know nothing of this.

While I write I receive yours of 15 September. As to Logan, my dear sir, I know he has had this intercourse; so I have constantly written to government. I state their denial as a proof that they lower by little and little, that they durst not avow it. The change took place some weeks at Paris, and the watch-word given out among our Jacobins there was that L[ogan] had had no political connexion, etc., etc. T[alleyrand]'s two letters to P[ichon] deny it, and the *real* object was that I should send copies of both. I would not, of the first, because though in P[ichon]'s hand, it had not T[alleyrand]'s name to it. It was, I saw, their object that I should send these, and the injunctions were that P[ichon]'s *name* should not be published, nor the letter. But as you state, it was for *government*, and probably with the view too—viz. deny to government L[ogan]'s connexion, but let the public effect of his mission be in fact in their favor. Therefore it was that I have so explicitly stated to government that though they *deny'd* to me, yet they had received L[ogan] in a distinguished manner, and T[alleyrand] had often seen him at T[alleyrand]'s own house or office. In fine just the course of facts, public and private, and declarations, etc., etc., so as to furnish materials for opinion, with opinions of my own with their grounds. But above all, my dear sir, all this is purely with the P[resident] and the S[ecretary] of State, in confidential letters, and to no other man or person in the

United States, and not a hint except to Mr. *K[ing]* and to *you*, to whom I have mentioned, I think, the whole. I can not be certain, but I think that they will give "the assurances." By next post I will extract a little from T[alleyrand]'s letter which I mentioned.

Their object will NEVER cease! never. They will go on in their attempts to divide us. Against them we must for an age keep up a system of vigilance and counteraction—then we shall outgrow them.

If they get a negotiation, I am convinced that they will still work at our roots, at our opinions; and if they saw their party increase from that critical interval which takes place in the national mind under probabilities of acccommodation, they would again be intoxicated and again be insolent. In fine, if Jacobinism be not scattered and defeated, if the public mind be not completely made up—not merely to war, for that is an effort, but to stability of government opinions which appear to promise habits in their progress—my voice would be, no negotiation, but war. If on the contrary all this be, I would try negotiation beneath the shield, accompany'd by our armed vessels and raising of regiments, etc., etc., etc., as in WAR. Then if we got out, it would be victory over our own Jacobins and over their masters, and strengthen the government and every good principle! Affectionately yours, dear sir.[1]

LXI.

Rec. Sept. 30.

Ans. Oct. 2. 25 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yours [of] 14th and 18th have come safely. I have kept you informed of whatever I do or am about, because I know it would give you pleasure, and also to avail myself occasionally of your opinions.

Pichon has perseveringly gone on ever since his arrival with conciliatory language and exhibiting what he considered as proofs of amity. I told you of T[alleyrand]'s letter to him of 11th Fructidor (30 August, I believe) which was in fact for me and for the government. In the beginning T[alleyrand] said, that M. M[urray] "a recu comme tous les hommes qui sont à la tête des affaires des États Unis, *les impressions que le cabinet Britannique a se donner contre nous.* Il croit les mesures de son gouvernement justes, et les soutient; mais il a raison, des lumières," etc., etc.

To the marked passage I objected as a thing which would force me to be totally silent in the whole letter to our government; that they eternally introduced Great Britain to our disgust and offence. He lamented that it was in—as he did in the other papers respecting our dispute; but said that as to these expressions they were but a burst of anger against Great Britain, whom they believed to have taken

[1] Adams to Murray, September 22, 25, 1798, in Adams MSS.

pains every where to ruin the character of France, and not as an imputation on us, or meant to assert any influence of Great Britain over us or myself; for that the Minister a little below declares that you are neither "il n'est ni français ni anglais; il est franchement Américain." In fact as every other part of the letter was free from offence and this doubtful, I would not withhold it.

I had stated to P[ichon] from the moment I saw the letter to Gerry in which T[alleyrand] says, "if he brings your qualifications or recommendations"—speaking of the new envoy—that these were offensive expressions and betray'd a perseverance in that spirit which refused to the United States the free choice, and that they would certainly be resented. T[alleyrand] to this (for P[ichon] said that the letter was intended to meet some of the remarks I had made to him at different times) says: "Lorsq'il a fallu rénoncer a traiter avec cet envoyé, que ne mettait d'importance qu'à savoir comment une négociation se reprendrait plus tard, je lui ai donné les assurances les plus solennelles sur l'accueil que recevrait un nouveau plénipotentiaire. Il était loin de ma pensée d'insinuer que le Président du le faire partir des États Unis au lieu d'invester de ses pouvoirs quelqu'un que fut en Europe. Bien moins encore que l'envoyé dut débarquer directement en France au lieu de l'annoncer d'un pays voisin. J'ai voulu dire seulement que le Directoire Exécutif était tellement prononcé pour le réconciliation, que tout tatonnement était superflu, qu'un acte de confiance envers lui provoquerait la sienne. *Je serais bien mal entender si l'on trouvait dans mes expressions une restriction sur la nature du choix que pourrait faire le Président.*" He gives his reasons for those expressions in continuing: "J'ai voulu encourager M. Gerry par les témoignages d'égards que ses bonnes intentions méritaient quoique je ne puisse me dissimuler qu'il manqua de décision dans un moment ou il pourrait facilement tout ajuster, il ne s'en suit pas que je le désigne, j'avouerai même que je le crois trop irrésolu pour être propre a hâter la conclusion d'une affaire de ce genre les avantages que j'ai louez en lui sont communs a tous les Américans qui n'ont point montré de prédilection pour l'Angleterre—peut on croire, qu'un homme qui proffesserait haine ou mépris pour la République Française ou se monterait l'avocat de la royauté, puisse inspirer aux Directoires une opinion favorable des dispositions du gouvernement des États Unis? J'aurais déguisé la verité si j'eusse laissé du louche a cet égard. Ce n'est pas blesser l'indépendance de ce gouvernement que de signaler, en amie sincère de la paix les écueils qu'il faut éviter." To this I observe that this also was unfortunate, for this was a string that had been so rudely touched as to offend the United States if it now were merely touched; that as to this friendly solicitude, circumstances had placed the two nations in such an attitude as to make even that a point of much delicacy; that on this choice and all its rocks we must be letf

free, either from controul, advice, or distant hint; that if France believed the government sincere in ever sending a mission, it must also give credit in this respect to the means or organs made use of. You shall have what he says on the mediation of Holland:

"Quant a la médiation de la République Batave et de l'Espagne" (of which I had not heard as to Spain), "Je ne sache pas qu'il en soit sérieusement question, et elle parait absoluement inutile. Les États Unis pourraient hésiter dans l'état actuel des choses a s'en rapporter a leur impartialité, et d'ailleurs je ne vois aucun point qui ne puisse être arrangé directement"!!

At the conclusion: "Un seul mot doit suffire d'ailleurs. Nous ne voulons que justice de la part des États Unis. Nous la demandons: nous l'offrons à leur gouvernement il peut se reposer sur la loyauté du Directoire.

"Vous ne douterez pas, Citoyen, que je n'approuve les communications qui votre zèle vous a fait rechercher avec M. Murray, puisque je mets à même de les reprerendre avec les données officielles. signed, etc., etc."

I find the hour of the post leaves me no time to say more than, dear sir, yours truly.

Anything in this letter is at your service for transmission confidentially to the President or Secretary, if you like.

LXII.

Rec. Oct. 3.
Ans. Oct. 6. 28 September, 1798.

Dear Sir: The paper, of which I gave you a few extracts in my last, I sent in a private letter to the Secretary, always informing him that I have never written a word on the subject of French affairs to any one in the United States, but him and the President for many months. As I believed that P[ichon] was sent here for such purposes, I thought it best to report confidentially every thing. I thought that what was said and shown to me might help throw light on things said and done elsewhere which reach our government; that it might explain—when compared—might detect perhaps in some cases and confirm in others, in fact, that it added to that store of intelligence, authentic and inauthentic, which the government at this time would wish to increase, and that my aim was to get something for nothing. I have rejoiced that we agree in this idea—that of the policy of leading or forcing them to give the assurances explicitly. I have had much to combat in Mr. P[ichon] (who is considered a man of talents) to convince him that the assurances were not given in the meaning of the President's message of 21 June last. He considered the letter of the Minister, of which I have given you some extracts, as definitively plain on score, and as to "*the assurances*" I have shown him that if

they had been explicitly made in that, the President would never condescend to act on a paper written to him, Mr. P[ichon], at the Hague; that this was impossible, and that the supposition laid bare an idea that I was sorry to see should still remain after our present career was known, vizt. that it will be a mighty easy matter to induce the government and nation of the United States to catch at little informal symptoms of good will in a French Ministry! That this was an error which would lead to a withholding of those measures of justice and that formal ceremonial of explicit advances on the part of France which was necessary, not only to avert war, but also an inextinguishable hatred against her very name. That as France professed through him a conviction of her errors and of our importance, and of her disposition to have a fair and honorable negotiation, she ought to adapt her conciliatory measures to two points, *justice* and the *manner* of showing her willingness to give it; that she ought not to consider the United States and herself in the ordinary relations, from which always the right to have ambassadors received honourably is *inferred* as of common right, because, having twice explicitly refused to gratify that right, it was necessary for her to give "the assurances," that a right (imply'd), twice refused, ought to be expressly announced; and it was fit in the P[resident] to wait for that before he sent a third trial. That the only ground on which a nation can have an apology for refusing to hear ministers of peace, viz. a suspicion of insincerity, was removed *by the instructions*, and it was now seen that this basis of refusal, if it ever existed, was not sound. In every conversation I assured him that I had no authority to open my lips on the subject. He has been, or appeared, convinced about ten days since that *the assurances ought to be given most explicitly*, and says he has so written, stating my remarks. Pichon has gone day before yesterday. On the 23d instant I threw on paper and gave him a few remarks to show that France ought to give "the assurances," etc., etc., and the President to expect them.[1] This I guarded top and bottom with the solemn declaration that all our conversations had been on my part unauthorized, and as an individual, and that that paper was so unauthorized. I know that he will show it to Talleyrand. Should they attempt to make use of my conversations in a character more important than they merit, my declaration is in writing to contradict it.

In a late *Rédacteur* is a piece of a singular character, insolent and ridiculous: "by dissolving our treaty of 1778 they say we again become *colonies*, and that we must be considered as *English* in the issue of this war," etc., etc.[2]

[1] A copy is in the Pickering MSS.

[2] See p. 479, *infra*.

The Ex-hero of Italy, I think, seems in "the house of bondage," and in a worse state than the Israelites who had some right to expect miracles to save them. "The Holy Koran"! that proclamation is a wonderfully wretched pleasantry—much worse than Bourgoyne's! and if the letters published from Constantinople be true, will probably terminate as his did. Except in the fighting and *projet*, I should have liked to have been with the Ex-Hero in that venerable land of pyramids, of catacombs, and labyrinths, and of Nile! Those poor wretches and fiery Beys, confound them, are too well acquainted with the hypocritical whining and the deadly voracity and character of THE CROCODILE to listen with confidence to a proclamation of fraternity and love at first sight! so kind and tender of the interests, and so interested in the happiness of the gipsy nation the first moment they saw them. Nay probably from report of the many endearing qualities which that amiable and oppressed people possessed, quite independently of their wealth, it is quite romantic; nothing in my reading like it, except the consequences that have follow'd this effort of philanthropy, in a case somewhat similar, which I think I once before mentioned to have taken place between Quixote and Ginès de Passamonte (I think was the slave's name)—the rogues knock down their deliverer and take their old practices.

While I write yours of 22d September comes to hand. I hear that a very great sensation has follow'd the total defeat of the French fleet near or at Alexandria, in Paris. The defeat and probable total loss of Buonaparte's army will increase this. I pray that the storm may thicken about them, till with hearts bent down they shall acknowledge a God, by observing a little better his commandments that are written in our nature!

I hear that *Prussia* received the intelligence of the total defeat of B[onaparte]'s army on 22d July near Cairo, and sent the news to the D[uke] of Brunswick, from whence it came here three days since. This must be the Turkish news of 25 August, just published—not half true. *Austria and Prussia* at war would decide the fate of Europe I think. Poor *Holland*, what a wretched state! I again rejoice that my proceedings here in the small way have your opinion with them. In my next I will send you a copy of the paper of the 23d instant which I sent to P[ichon], before he went. Do not be alarmed; I have not embarked in a course that can trouble me, nor involve government. When you see it you will say so. I have made Mr. Mountflorence [1] my secretary *pro tem.* It was *convenient*, I believe, to him, and he has been very faithful among the faithless at Paris! Dear sir, yours.

[1] James C. Mountflorence.

My compliments wait on your brother and my wish of the poet to a young lawyer: *Gratia, fama, valetudo—and full pockets;* though that is not classical enough for the occasion I shall write to him.[1]

LXIII.

Rec. Oct. 11.
Ans. Oct. 13. 5 October, 1798.

Dear Sir: There is no knowing them! *To credit what is profitable to themselves,* is the only rule by which I have yielded in any degree some faith to their *professions,* lately. Then again, we may apply that rule, short of their whole, and in particular reference to ourselves relatively to *them.* Whereas I do them the justice to think that their plans are vast, and that we are a part only of that whole, apply'd to which this rule would fall short unless we knew the whole. It has been that idea, that fear of deceit that has frequently embittered my time this summer; yet again to form *rules for deceit itself* in this way I know and feel the weakness of. It is to digest a plan of extrication from the Egyptian labyrinth,

qua signa sequendi
Fallerat indepensus, et irremiabilis error,

where *France* herself would be quite at home, and probably will be among the sacred crocodiles, in a little time; but where I should be lost alive. In fact my hope rests on the sword of the United States. If the certainty that it will strike, unless terms are offered, produce offers, I shall be satisfy'd in my expectations that deceit cannot do much mischief unless the sword be bury'd in the ground.

As I write yours of 29 comes; that [of] 25 September came the 1st inst.

My dear sir, I thought I knew H[ichborn]. I have seen many such demagogues in my time, and think I know the tribe better than I do any other family of our species. Popular cunning, a half slang way of talking to give an open air and candor to their conversation, but always with a lurking design far beyond their tone of voice and expression. I am satisfy'd too on one other point, that he is not a man of talents, and can triumph only among humble and raw men—"a wit among lords." He has not extent of mind enough to be wicked on a great scale. I did fear him a little till I conversed much with him. He assured me he would tell them at Paris, if he was asked, that they must do us justice. I did not care whether he performs his promise. Neither he nor dear Mr. Barlow can do mischief now. It was only when on our knees and in the dust that they could harm their own country. They are the mud on the lion's mane; they can stain, though they can not clog his vigour when he rises in rage. Did I not tell you of a piece in the *Rédacteur* of 21 or 22d September,

[1] Adams to Murray, September 29, 1798, in Adams MSS.; October 2, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 371. Murray to Pickering, September 29, October 2, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

bitterly insolent, and so ignorant? "As we annul the treaty we are again colonies."[1] Good Mr. Pichon had left the Hague, and when I spoke to Mr. Champigny [2] the other night at a party, he said that "all which appeared in the *Rédacteur* was not *always* from government, and probably this was not," and professed his conviction that his government wished sincerely to make peace with us. There is no knowing them.

Of this great victory [3] we had had the same particulars—great certainly for us, great for Europe, if she knows how to work it. Turkey seems though to be in danger. The aid of Russia!! A fleet passing the Dardanelles and gazed at with pleasure.[4]

The Turkish declaration is spoken of in the French papers. I should have been highly gratify'd, but it will go the sooner to government for the delay, and that is the object we both have in view.

The Venetian islands will probably change masters. Indeed the consequences of this great victory of Nelson must be great for Great Britain and for part of Italy, but does not touch the great springs of French power! If France lost every ship and bum-boat, and Malta, and Egypt, Corfu, etc., etc., etc., she can humble and tread on all the continent, unless a better genius rules its force. She has, however, lost her hold on Naples and its dominions, on the ports which she could have kept shut against Great Britain, if she had returned from Malta and kept her fleet in Toulon. Great Britain is bettered, but a naval enemy can not bring France to terms more than a land one can Great Britain. For the United States it is unequivocally and positively a grand blow against France, and for us! The talk at Paris is war against Austria. The late message speaks out, but it may be the gasconnade that usually precedes peace—which I wish not to see till peace shall come in the spirit of peace, which can not be yet! Yours truly, my dear sir.

The yellow fever again in Philadelphia; the President at Quincy.

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[1] "Les Américains veulent la guerre avec la République Français; ils annullent en conséquence le traité de 1778; ils redeviennent donc envers la France, ce qu'ils étaient avant cette époque, *une colonie Anglaise*. La République française pourrait donc considérer les Américains *comme Anglais*, et comme tels, leur pavillon ne mériterait aucun égard; le droit de *courir sus* doit être accordé à tout armateur français, et leur sort futur doit être lié à celui de la Grande Bretagne, dans l'issue de la guerre actuelle.

"Supposons que l'Angleterre, de puissance du premier ordre, redevienne, ce qu'il doit être, puissance du second rang, la République française en maintenant la liberté des mers, n'aurait-elle pas assez de moyens pour dire aux Américains: 'Vos vaisseaux peuvent cabotage dans vos ports, fédérés; mais le pavillon Américain ne doit pas flotter sur les mers de l'Europe; vous recevrez des nations Européennes les échanges dont vous aurez besoin. Quand on pêche par l'ingratitude, on ne mérite aucune considération, et l'on doit d'autant moins compter sur votre repentir, que vous aieux nos *forbans*, puisqu'ils sont originaires anglais, vous ont traunis toute leur déloyauté.' Je ne sais trops ce que les Américains des États Unis pourraient espérer, son même qu'ils auraient de grands succés; mais ce que l'on ne peut contester, c'est que si les Anglais, leur instigateurs, sont dans l'impuissance de les secourir, la République française peut les priver des droits que *sa* générosite, *son* sang et *son* or, lui *avaient donnés*, et dont ils ne se sont servis, que pour prouver jusqu'où peut aller l'ingratitude." From "Rédacteur," No. 1010, Septembre 21, 1798.

[2] Champigny-Aubin, secretary of the French mission at The Hague.

[3] Battle of the Nile, August 1, 2.

[4] Emperor Paul had entered into a treaty with Turkey, and sent a fleet from Sebastopol into the Mediterranean to act with the Turks against the French at Corfu. The treaty is in "Annual Register," 1798, 237.

You will feel the loss of your brother much. He was blessed with a cheerfulness which he had from Mrs. A[dams] that must have been very pleasant in a diplomatic friend. Mr. Welsh[1]—I dined en famille with the President a few days before I came off, and his secretary was a Mr. Walsh, I think. If it is he, pray present my compliments to him on his *entrée*.[2]

LXIV.

Rec. Oct. 15.
Ans. Oct. 20. 9 October, '98.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 2d inst. reached me yesterday. I dare say that in some one of my long and tiresome letters I told you, that Mr. P[ichon] said he had stated my remarks on the necessity of their making an explicit declaration officially to the President on "the assurances, etc., etc.," and that he expected an answer from the Minister.

Night before last the military French postmaster came to my house and delivered a letter into my hands. It was from Mr. Pichon dated 13 Vendémiaire, Paris, containing *the answer* of which he had spoken on that subject. It is from the Ministre des Relations Extérieurs de la République Française, etc., etc., to him, at the Hague. He says it crossed him on his way, went back to Paris, whence he sends it to me, considering it as "the assurances." I mentioned to you a note which I sent to P[ichon] of the 23d September, the day before he went.

This is not *the declaration* which meets the wrong. It is more an *authorization of Mr. Pichon's several declarations* "that any plenipotentiary whom the President may send shall be received with the respect due to the representative of a free independent and powerful nation," than *that* explicit declaration which I meant. Besides it is addressed to Mr. P[ichon], and he is not ordered to communicate it to me. It certainly breathes a softer tone (unmixed also with *Anglicisms!*) than any thing I have seen *intended* for the eye of our government; for it *was* so intended, there is no doubt, and I believe was written *after* P[ichon] got to Paris. It is perfectly official in all its appearances, but it is from a Minister to his Secretary of Legation.

There is, it is true, some difficulty in the mode of doing this thing, but after much timid reflection I told P[ichon] that if a formal and solemn declaration was sent to me for government, and officially delivered to him to be given to me, I would run the risk of sending it. I think there would be risk, both on party grounds—if it get there too late, and should make a handle for opposition—and also for *myself*.

[1] Thomas Welsh.

[2] Adams to Murray, October 6, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 373; Murray to John Adams, October 7, in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 688; Murray to Pickering, October 6, in Pickering MSS.

Because I see plainly that my conduct may be mistaken for a moment even by my friends, and construed into a side glance at an *appointment* to execute the business. If you ever believed a diplomat in your life on a point of modesty, believe my declaration, my dear sir, that indeed I had no such thing in view. I have not presumed to mention any such idea to the President—I mean a denial of an unthought of offer! But I have said in my letter night before last, which I had the honor to address privately to him, inclosing *the inclosed* (copy of), that I supposed P[ichon] was sent to me because he spoke English well, "and I French *very badly;* and of course *am unqualify'd* for a long and rapid conversation on important subjects in that language." *Do not suppose that I think anything which you have been kind enough to write me means, that you think I have aimed at such a thing. I do not.* But Talleyrand's expressions, of respect, etc., etc., may start this idea. I think I know the use which was intended by such sort of oil. I have seen it recently poured down the head and beard of our late friend at Paris.[1] They poured this into a very good old wheel whose *bias* even was, as thought, right, but after all the wheel spun round and round, but would not go the way they wanted it to go. Whether the next wheel they try'd does better for them, I can not tell, but it try'd to go *right!* and aims at nothing higher than the low and level land of Holland, where there are but few rocks and ruts to jostle it and endanger its absolute ruin!

In mine of the 7th to the President I have told him that I had stated to you the substance of this affair with Mr. P[ichon], and have said, "I enjoy great pleasure in having received from Mr. A[dams] a concurrence of opinions on the point which I have stated to him."

I have also deemed it to be my duty to send a copy of my note to P[ichon] of 23 September to the President—in my last. These I shall send by this post to Hamburgh inclosed for your brother.

Inclosed you have *the letter.* It was sent by P[ichon] to me, and for *the President only* to know of. This mystery is unaccountable except on the two grounds I mentioned to the President: 1. the origin of this informal business, which locks it up from the chargé here even. I said P[ichon] was probably sent because of his understanding our affairs, speaking good English, and having more talents than the chargé. 2. To save their pride if nothing came of it. The last I believe prevents them from giving the assurances as I wanted them given, or stated *as those* which alone could meet the occasion in any degree if they mean to give any. For it seems to me so deeply their interest that I am disposed to think they sincerely wish for a new negotiation. Whether we ought to have one without some basis (which I have also stated to Pichon) offered, some pledge of success to

[1] Gerry.

just demands, must depend on the state of the American mind and on an interior, of which I am no judge. All I aimed at was to put something in the [hands] of government, and to give nothing; to obtain evidence of our *strength* under their own hand. Yours, dear sir.

If you think it worth while, the enclosed *copy* can go from you to the President privately; and indeed I send it to you, not merely to gratify your desire to see such a letter, but that your free remarks may go to the President upon it. Our respective views of the same thing, very likely crossing each other on some particulars, may be serviceable.

LXV.

12 October, 1798.

Dear Sir: The last post I sent you a copy of Mulciber's [Talleyrand] letter. Except the closing sentence of the first paragraph it was neat enough. In truth *France* and her host, I suspect, do begin to doubt of the omnipotence of arms and deception. Their situation, if Europe be not wilfully wanting, is in my eyes excessively critical! Prussia *can* now be *forced* in sound policy.

Here Monsr. Lombard [1] has arrived from Paris, Envoy Extraordinary. On the 9th he was received. His *object* is not known—suspected to be a quick payment of the arrears *due* them by treaty. Schimmelpenninck set off the 7th for Paris. He has pay of an *ambassador*, not the rank, else he would not have gone. Either general peace must take place in a very short time, or a better war against France than has been seen during this eventful epocha. If the first, the Directory must tremble, and I believe they know it. Of course I look for the second. I hear nothing from home. *Reports* over here that Sieyès has left you. I have doubted it. I can believe that he is coldly regarded, as it is said here. Van der Goes is today Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. I have but a moment to thank you for yours of the 6th inst. which comes just as the post goes.

As to suspicions of insincerity being a just ground of refusing embassadors, I have never accorded to this. On the contrary, one great object with me has been to prove their madness in acting as they did on this point; but that even if they had been sincere in entertaining suspicion, there now could be none, and of course even that excuse had been removed, and of course they ought to give "the assurances." I do not know if I should regret P[ichon]'s departure; for though he knew that I was unauthorized, yet things kept working up into "consistency," and I am afraid of this business. For if the party get hold of it, they may use it as a new ground of *hope*, and weaken the spirit of the nation by *hopes*. And besides, my dear sir, I do not know how far I may have been able to make myself exactly

[1] Vincent Lombard de Langres (1765–1830).

understood by government!! My unlucky *address* to the usurpers shows me that I am not *fortunate*. They take things in a very straight forward, right down and down right way.

I have not another instant but to assure you that I am always, yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

LXVI.

Rec. Oct. 24.

Ans. Oct. 27. 18 October, 1798.

Dear Sir: The last which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you is of the [[2]] of this month. My two last have some communications in them on which I wish your opinion. To my mind the more they are considered, the more empty they appear, when considered in any view except *mere negotiation*. For the hint of renewing ancient "ties," if insisted on, will of itself break up every idea of an amicable ending of a negotiation at least. Having long wished to see that treaty *fairly got rid of*, my own wishes are directly opposed to a renewal of it—if that is the tie of which Mulciber speaks with so much kindness.

There is great pleasure in looking at Nelson's victory, and the train of things which has follow'd that and the invasion of Egypt. My hope is that Russia may get Malta, Corfu, or something better in the Mediterranean. She would thus in time come in perhaps for some West India trade, and grow in maritime strength in the south of Europe, and particularly in those seas. But tell me, what is Russia's *object?* This co-operation, march of troops, and fleet passing the Seraglio, are but machinery, and of real wisdom of plan, foresight of evils in progression towards her own door, of disinterested motives from either a heroism that searches good adventures, or a friendship that strains a point to help the distressed, I am not the man to give her or any nation the credit for any such thing. Her blue eyes have long languished from the north towards a southern point. If she can once bring her long length of force to wind through the Dardanelles, your anticipation may be veryfy'd even in our times, and the masters of the south may again come from her loins.

The accession of Turkey is an immense thing it seems to me. It is that gate which, if shut, excluded a vast force from convenient action; opened, it may give a prodigious blow.

The French papers state what we are all mighty willing to believe, that the new cits of Malta have revived the Sicilian Vespers against the citizen garrison. Yet, my dear sir, I learn that the fête of 1 Vendémiaire may be considered as having wiped off the score which the news of the destruction of the fleet made on the people of Paris. On the government, however, it is said to work deeply. The personal views and the bodily safety of the Directory can alone withhold

[1] Adams to Murray, October 13, 1798, in Adams MSS. [2] A blank; it could be for either 2d or 6th.

a continental peace. A peace would give a ground somewhat firmer to Buonaparte of the 500 and his party, than that on which the *deported* of 18 Fructidor stood in calling to account the Directory for making war without the notice of it even to the councils. Victory and plunder stifled the cries of Venice. Disaster and comparative weakness have follow'd the aggression upon Egypt.

Here—alas! However look at Citizen Lombard's speech to the Directory [1]—the imputed toleration of the trade with the English! This—his reserve, his sudden apparition, his being in the hands of an enragé, the unrepelled court of the anarchists, and the rumors from Paris "that everything is in confusion in Holland,"—give great uneasiness to the government. It is understood too that *France* has a rod in pickle that she shakes everywhere when chuff—that is "LOVE of the BRITISH!"—as applicable to this government also. Love, you know, is said to be jealous; but this *before enjoyment.* It was well enough to play off this against America—perhaps Switzerland—but to parrot away the same phrase at her old friend and Vrow is too much. The same sort of trade that keeps the people of Dieppe and Calais from starving, smuggling with England, has existed certainly here. I do not think any other has. This tender complaining is, I think, traceable to the pecuniary interests which men in power, *in and out of France have in the regular dividend of the plunder made by the French privateers in the Maase and Dutch waters,* from Dutch and neutral vessels. These dividends must have been certainly have been diminished since the regulation of 12 August. The privateers of Dunkerque and those in the Maase and at Flushing have been turning heaven and earth to stir up odium at Paris against the late intermediary government and the present. These privateers have very powerful auditors, and the story of "Loving the British" is thought of. I obtained a convoy for an American brig the other day, and it convoy'd her out to sea and left her safe on the 15th. The privateers had openly declared they would take her, if she went to the mouth of the Maase. Is it not natural they should be enraged at such conduct in an ally? Dear sir, I am truly yours always, etc., etc.

P. S. Genl. Championnet [2] from Mayence has orders to take the command here and Hatry to go. Genl. C. came four days since here, found a *new* minister and orders not to take the command. This *new* minister is said to have asked the other day "What is meant by 22d January and 12 June?" He is without map or compass! except the chargé [3] who is again Secretary of Legation, and De Messuriez is also Secretary of Legation.[4]

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[1] His despatches are in "Gedenkstukken, 1798–1801."

[2] Jean-Étienne Championnet (1762–1800).

[3] Champigny-Aubin.

[4] Adams to Murray, October 20, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 374; October 23, in Adams MSS.

LXVII.

Rec. Oct. 31.
Ans. Nov. 3. 26 October, 1798.

Dear Sir: I this moment receive yours of 20th—the only one since yours of 13 instt.

Since my inclosures to you I have also sent copies to Colonel Pickering *privately*. I have *never* mentioned this in my dispatches.

On Sunday (this is Friday) I received *through this government* a few lines from Pichon, begging to know if his inclosing T[alleyrand]'s were received. He had written to the post master here a week before on it, and I had given a receipt to the post master, but had not written to P[ichon] as I told him I could not. However he seems so solicitous I wrote solely that I had received, etc., etc., and reminded him of my assurance that I should not indulge in the pleasure of writing to him at Paris, though I should be happy to hear from him.

P[ichon]'s letter was, as he says, given to Mr. Schimmelpenninck to send with his dispatches. On Thursday Count Lukener, the Danish minister said in a whisper to me, you have received a letter from Mr. Pichon. So our friends told it.

In truth all the world chuckles believe me at what they believe to be the humiliation of *France* respecting the United States.

I write in unpardonable haste. Affect'ly, dear sir, always yours.[1]

LXVIII.

Rec. Nov. 22.
Ans. Nov. 22. 5 November, 1798.

Dear Sir: I wrote a few lines to acknowledge your last of 27th October, but was too late for the post and I had nothing important to give you.

From America I am very impatient to hear. If Gerry did carry out propositions from the French government, we shall hear probably of the reception which the public in the United States attributes to them, even before they may be officially noticed; for if he has them, the party will also have had duplicates sent I dare say, and will make a stir, particularly to influence the elections of this autumn, both state and union. Of General Pinckney, too, and the effect of his arrival, we must soon hear. We will do much in North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. I hear that in North Carolina the prospect of the canvass promised a great and good change. In Baltimore I see that young Mr. Winchester[2] offers against General Smith. Winchester is a lawyer of about nine years standing, and a man of very good talents. He is federal. In Virginia I hear there is not much change to be expected; their election, however, is in next March.

[1] Murray to Pickering, October 27, November 3, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 27, November 3, in Adams MSS.; an extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 378.

[2] James Winchester.

The House of Representatives has hitherto been the mischievous part of the government. It must be mended, or I fear indeed for the best constitution on earth. The government, however, is undoubtedly stronger and more solid than it was a year since. An honorable accommodation, or a brisk war, will settle it into a tone of proper energy. This half way state is the greatest danger it can run, and ought to be ended immediately. With respect to alliances, these must depend on home politics the center of which is Philadelphia, and to judge one ought to be there. I know nothing of what passes there except from old newspapers; for I have abstained purposely from correspondence since the month of April, nearly on the principle upon which the French Directory have in effect prohibited their foreign agents from writing politics to private persons by a late act. Belgium seems to be subsiding. I hear of no step to sustain that great effort!!

From Mr. Pichon I received the inclosed a day or two since.[1] I suppose he thought it a vindication of himself. What shall I do with my intention of arresting L[ogan], when administration was restrained by a delicacy which doubtless has great moral dignity in it, from opening letters that seemed on their very face to talk TREASON!

Tomorrow morning I go to Amsterdam to receive the discharged bonds and coupons, to give descriptive receipts, etc., etc. It must take me some days I fear. . . .

I hear that Mr. Lombard has demanded an act of oblivion, that it will pass this week, and Van Lange and Fynje will come out with whole skins. Lombard wished it to be done *as of their* own motion, but they would not, and he has written or is to write a note. He is much with the ex's. Most sincerely, dear sir, yours always.[2]

LXIX.

Rec. Nov. 19.

Ans. Nov. 22. 13 NOVEMBER, '98.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your two last favors which met me on my return from Amsterdam from whence I have just returned.

I thought I had mentioned the letters in the French papers to you. With respect to the insidious policy of *France* and her children, I do not believe that there has been a gap of doubt in my mind for years. Cringe privately, unofficially, and affect a tone as high as they dare in their public appearances, has lately been their practice, and I see no end to it, nor to the poor patience of her continental opponents. If we are to strike, it ought to be quick and with the vigor of passions in their flower. As to ——— and ———,[3] I assure you sincerely I

[1] Not with the letter.

[2] Adams to Murray, November 6, 1798, in Adams MSS.

[3] Blanks, probably Prussia and Austria.

feel something like contempt for them, and I wish for a speedy war or a revolution for them. Without one of these *France* will confirm her power. No matter about her government. It may tumble and take as many shapes as a wire dancer; but her power in any shape, if left to season and grow fixed over all her territories, will be tremendous. War I do believe with you would weaken that power down to a social scale, compatible with the independence of others. If that is to be kept off by ——— and ———[1] under a ridiculous idea of avoiding the death blow, my next wish (indeed dreadful as I think revolutions are, I almost wish it!) is a speedy revolution among them. *France* can hardly now maintain dominion over the sucking little political brats that the "wrath of her fornication" has begotten, much less could she were ——— and ———[1] in a revolutionary state and maintain dominion over them also. They would all turn upon herself. In fact it seems to me that if the war be not renew'd on wise and liberal plans and with honest objects, ——— and ———[1] are in the road to revolution; but that in the meantime [France] may do immense mischief and probably confirm her power in the conquered and affiliated countries. Perhaps my illhumor, excited by present appearances of either timidity, indifference, or ignorance of the real question which is at issue between [France] and all civilised society, may have blinded me, and made me forget what is due to misfortune however foolishly produced; but after those golden opportunities which Fortune, as if studiously, had placed and timed for the salvation of the continent are thus suffered to pass by unprofitted of!—Nelson, Turkey, Russia, Egypt, the condition of Malta and the other islands, of Switzerland, following the extinction of the invasion of England project and the attitude of the United States, and now succeeded by the attempt to raise 200,000 men by chains and the bayonet, with the actual state of Belgium ! ! !—if with all this, just at this moment and during all last month, they are still praying, they must be so, so very poor and weak from the keel to the combings, from stem to stern, that the ship indeed, except for the crew, ought to be condemned and sold and taken to pieces.

We hear daily here from Brabant, etc., etc. Luxembourg, Liège, Maastricht, even Cologne (a little, as much as possible there), and all Brabant and part of Dutch Brabant, are much affected. In Brabant the insurgents rather increase than diminish, and all the arts of *France* can not conceal her alarm at the state of that whole country. But they must be cut up certainly, unless foreign co-operation sustains their spirits. I hear nothing from the United States, not a line since the date of 14th July. Mr. Pitcairn informs me that 1,200,000 dollars are voted by the legislature of New York for the

[1] Blanks, probably Prussia and Austria.

fortification of the harbor. I have got the bonds of the United States that have been paid—the coupons not yet arranged. Dear sir, ever truly yours, etc.[1]

LXX.

Rec. Nov. 29.
Ans. Dec. 1. 23 November, 1798.

Dear Sir: There is a report that the *Constellation* of 36 has taken a French 44, and carry'd her after a severe action into Charleston. I forget if I mentioned this before. If I did it will bear repetition. I do not believe that the captain or crew ever saw action before. It makes a charming impression here as a foretaste of future naval honors. It is Bull's interest to see this, but his smiles will have some reserves on so gallant an achievement by an infant frigate. The French papers still continue to announce a treaty offensive and defensive between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. King cannot have authorized the publication of it I should think, for had it been proper to publish or even to tell it, he would have informed both of us. It produces many questions here. I say I do not know of it, nor do I think it yet done; that if it be done, there ought to be no doubt of its policy, because France has forced us into arms and had missed the moment in which we repeatedly offered her our friendship. If it be done there will be a great naval career. Indeed, *entre nous*, from *Sweden* I learn that an idea seems to be authorized that Great Britain has offered the United States the island of St. Domingo, if we join. I am a traveller without any knowledge for more than four months of what is doing at home. I now regret that last spring I gave up my correspondents at Philadelphia, because of the extreme delicacy of our affairs.

General Pinckney was met 1 October within three days sail of the coast, bound for Boston. He will thus combat his ex-colleague on his own ground.

Here fears of revolution sour the thin watery blood, as thunder does small beer. On Monday night Daendels (who has merit) seized on six revolutionary gentlemen detected in a plot to make a revolution, as they facetiously call the transition of a Director from a palace to a prison. These were Groenvelt, Bosch, a poet and late president of the *soi disant* councils, Ruysch of Delft, Vandyk and two others less known.[2] A grand party dinner was to have taken place at the Heeren when the plan was to be arranged for the next day's execution. Jolly fellows! all Anthonies. Mr. Lombard, who by the bye has cultivated these very men (as I told you), had the grace

[1] Adams to Murray, November 22, 1798, in Adams MSS.

[2] Bosset, who supplied the Prussian government with "neusheets" on Holland reported seven as seized: F. W. M. Ruysch, ex-mayor of Delft, a violent Jacobin, who had taken a large share in forming the National Assembly three years before; Groeneveld, an apothecary; Voogd de Schiedam, ex-member of the Constituent Assembly; Visser, and Kaltener and Romijn of Amsterdam. The seventh was Hoitsma of Amsterdam.

to decline their invitation. He is not suspected, but from his being invited I should suppose he knew what sauce was to give zest to their meat, and knew he ought to decline.

Belgium, towards the Rhine, still goes on. I fear you may think me a little negligent, from the irregularity of my letters lately.

You have a list of Martini's[1] library; the sale begins on Monday and will continue till near the middle of December. Any book you will say is a desideratum I will get for you, if to be had reasonable, and I beg you to tell me. I hear that Fagel's will be sold in the winter. I am always most sincerely yours, my dear sir.[2]

LXXI.

Rec. Dec. 2.

Ans. Dec. 4. 27 NOVEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I hear nothing further of the treaty offensive and defensive with Great Britain. It is much talked of here. The French papers (of which I take the *Rédacteur* and *Publiciste* agreeably to your hint) say they have it from those of London. The last letter of 9th from Mr. King does not say a word of it. If it be in the London papers, it is no secret. If it be true, and I think it highly probable it is connected in policy with some great scenes in the region near the United States, upon which we have both speculated, and will prove a blow to *France* which she will never recover. The western trident will rule there, and that of the east, in the hand of England. What makes it more probable is the news I have just heard from Hamburgh—that Mr. Swan, just from London, says that St. Domingo has declared for INDEPENDENCE. This very important event (I know not if true!) connects its relations in my mind with this other news of the treaty; and recalls (what past rapidly over my mind) what you said some weeks since in a letter; and I now suspect that a treaty is on the carpet. Never surely was a nation so governed as the French, never were great opportunities so lost. Well, if it be so, I hope we shall strike hard, and work with novelty of object and plan. A great field opens on the western side for us and for Great Britain; for it seems to me that independence must travel south and west, and if it do, our carrying and British merchandise will travel stage and stage. I am extremely anxious for American intelligence, not having heard since 14 July (of that date).

Some time since I sent you Bache's virulent pamphlet.[3] Bile is the basis of the yellow fever. Is it surprising that it killed Bache, for he died of it? So it is to have had a philosopher for a grand father; for that idea was the food of much of his extravagance of mind, and placed him in a state of pretence where he was obliged to act a part

[1] Perhaps of Georg Heinrich Martini.

[2] Adams to Murray, November 27, 1798, in Adams MSS.

[3] Truth will out.

for which he had not talents. However, he is gone. That tremendous disorder by my last Hamburg account raged in Philadelphia and New York as late as the 25 September!! I have feared that it would too much sober the public mind, and blunt that gay military spirit which is important in the capital.

Two posts have past without a line from you. I fear, my dear sir, that my irregularity of writing some time since has withdrawn the only claim I had to returns.

Nothing more of the plot here—all is quiet. Nothing from Buonaparte, important—yet near Cairo. When will Turks, Russians and Germans act as quickly as I would have them! With all the phlegm which I hope and believe I have acquired here, they all still appear to me to be lifeless. This whole winter Rastadt will doze away, while the French with inextinguishable ardor will crush Belgium, organize poor Switzerland, and arrange their 200,000 men and the armies. It is true the Austrian armies required eighteen months recruiting, but millions can not recall the spirit that is evaporating in Belgium. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

LXXII.

30 November, 1798.

Dear Sir: A Mr. Andrews [1] (son in law to Col. Hichborn) got a passport this morning for Paris. He is just from London. He says he heard nothing of a treaty, offensive and defensive, etc., etc.; that a paragraph he heard was in the papers to that effect, but that he does not believe it, nor did he hear of the St. Domingo independence. I do not know him, but he may not like news of this sort.

He left a London paper with the speech to Parliament in it. It speaks of the energy displayed by the Emperor of Russia and of the Porte; but from its silence respecting the Emperor of Germany I should conclude that nothing certain had been settled with him. Policy indeed might conceal an alliance for a time.

A new ten per cent on income is announced as a tax here, and four per cent on capital for 25 years at 3½ per cent loan, and 3 per cent on capital for that time as a sinking fund. I have not *seen* this, but hear so from those who have more interest than I have in ascertaining it.

By an American paper (of New York) of the 5th which Mr. Andrews gave me, I see they think lightly of the fever there and at Boston.

In this I see General Eustace has commenced his lines of circumvallation round Monroe and his book. Of course he speaks of himself, his three exiles, and lastly of myself, whom he does more than justice to. The attack on M[onroe] will be interesting. Eustace

[1] Samuel Andrews.

has a bitterly tenacious memory, aided by a journal of circumstances and conversations, dates, etc., etc., that will give Mun. some trouble.

But, my dear sir, I fear you may be unwell, for I do not receive a line, and if but half a page I estimate it as I ought always. I have been sick a bed, but am up again. I am always most faithfully yours.

Genl. Washington has been ill, but is better.[1]

LXXIII.

Rec. Dec. 12.
Ans. Dec. 14. 7 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last post passed me because I was obliged to see Mr. V[an] G[oes] on the old subject of the *Wilmington Packet*. The present attitude of the United States may perhaps do more than your sound reasoning upon that subject, and I am preparing a memorial for the government. So many changes have taken place that I believe there is not a man in administration who knows anything of this case.

Your favors Nos. 1 and 2 [November 22, 27][2] came safely—I adopt the numbering with pleasure.

Chevalier D'Anduaga is not well pleased to depart I believe.[3] His intended successor was lately a secretary of legation in England; when he returned he stood No. 9, in the Bureau of Foreign Affairs. Deaths and promotions put him No. 1—Savaadra [4] was taken ill and the papers came to his hands. Thus near the king, a handsome young man (women also probably near him), known as the translator of a French tragedy also, and I hear with good natural parts, he is made ambassador here with 60,000 florins per annum. So go the family mines of the last of the Bourbons! Lately the Chevalier (I hear) is not so certain of going. This government will miss him, for his moderation and goodness of heart, I believe, have several times stood between parties here, and the government and its great ally.

The paper published by the ROMAN consuls is a precious piece of burlesque. The President consul (anti-climax) is quite Quiz Hercules (Mrs. Adams perhaps has laughed at this hero in "Patrick in Prussia"), born a soldier, child of the WORLD'S MISTRESS, forgetting the end to which his mother came at last.

If France do not exert herself to defend this sucking republican child, I shall suppose she means to sell it to Tuscany and Naples.

By the bye the secretary of the *Consuls* Bassal,[5] is a Frenchman, once a curate, then a spy on poor Barthèlemi in Switzerland, a very

[1] Adams to Murray, December 1, 4, 1798, Adams MSS.

[2] The two correspondents now began to number their letters, with a view to tracing detention or loss. The dates will be added in brackets.

[3] He was still minister in September, 1799.

[4] Probably the father of Angel de Saavedra, duke de Rivas. He died in 1802.

[5] Jean Bassal (1752–1802).

violent and cunning fellow. In the *Publiciste* of the 1 December inst. the proclamation is called *imprudent*, and it is said the secretary is removed. This helps to lead me into a suspicion that France knows much of the quarrel between Rome and Naples, and that it would not be wonderful, *provided* a continental peace is determined on by France, to see Rome made a make weight as Venice was. Of Buonaparte we hear nothing new; of Belgium we hear indistinctly, but enough to know that the insurrection is very serious indeed. Vander Noot[1] you see has gone the way of all European *Patriots*. He has been transported to Paris, his repentance and better knowledge came too late.

We are quiet here.

Old Martini's books sell like relics, very high. They are well bound, and many good, too high for me. So many of them are embellished with plates that there is no getting at them. The seller cries out *moïjéz plaats*, and they sell immediately. A Horace, Pine's, with cuts, sold at thirty-five florins when two, a minute before with learned notes but in a common garb, sold for 10 stivers; one would not sell for six. They love the beautiful in art. Edward's and Catesby's Natural history of Carolina[2]—certainly a rich work—sold for 650 odd florins, without supplement. I am not a naturalist and can not judge how much the buyer gave for the plates and how much for the learning. I only know that there is a gentleman here whose taste is old and rare china, and also CHINESE BOOKS in the original language, and that he does not know one letter of the language. I too am ignorant of Cardinal D'Ossat[3] and the President Jeannin,[4] but I shall get them because your father recommended them to me the last evening that I had the honor to see him. I have not met with them before. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.[5]

LXXIV.

Rec. Dec. 16.
Ans. Dec. 18. 11 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last night I had the pleasure of your No. 4 [December 4], and wish that I could merit its good opinions. May I assure you that for some time I have felt almost stunned in my powers of research (just so small as I know they are), by the conduct of the great powers on the continent after Nelson's victory! and that my inclination after conjectures and search after probable things have diminished in proportion as I saw that these powers appeared too

[1] Hendrik van der Noot.
[2] Published between 1731 and 1748.
[3] Arnaud d'Ossat (1536–1604). The "*Lettres*" first appeared in 1624.
[4] Pierre Jeannin (1540–1622), president of the Parliament of Paris. His "Négociations" first appeared in 1656.
[5] Adams to Murray, December 8, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 378; December 11, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, December 11, in Pickering MSS.

paralytic to use any means, however tempting and right and promising of success. On the contrary, also, of course I doubt whether I, or any man out of their cabinets, can be a judge of their actual efficient force. Yet all the world has seen the weakness of their opponent, as a rational inference from the violent attempt to raise so great a deficit of strength as 200,000 men. The insurrection in Belgium, the successful opposition of the Grisons—indeed, that when opposed with decision they know when to temporize—these things have produced such a stagnation in my mind that I have not written to the Secretary of State for more than a month! as it seemed nonsense in me to hazard opinions upon a state of things that appeared regulated by no natural mode of proceeding, and where probabilities were eternally overcome by the greatest improbabilities. I receive letters also from King of 25 ulto., and one from Mr. McHenry of 25. October, and one from Mr. Bingham [1] of 27 September. The fever was dreadful! I do indeed sorrow over it. Sixteen physicians died in New York, but it exists in but one part of the town. Hamilton and Church [2] brave it, and remain in the city. Hamilton had it in '93. Poor Fenno [3] and his amiable wife perished by it in Philadelphia! We lose a good man and a most steady and respectable friend of the cause of liberty and country in him!

Talleyrand's letters to Gerry and his defence about X Y Z, have all had their course before the public. The sentiment which we both anticipated rules—contemptuous indignation at the last, and absolute ridicule at the first. As every part of the cobweb is seen through, it is possible that the knowledge that it was the work of a spider may have assisted the penetration of some; but it is excellent to see the progress of those habits which lead to DOUBT. That seems to me to be the national characteristic which must be engendered and worked into prejudice (for it's bottom is reason), before we shall be safe from the foul fiend—to doubt always about her. I should judge from the letters from America (Trenton and Jersey) that if she came forward with plain and unequivocal offers suitable to us, she would be listened to. This she will not do, though my Secretary says that he received a letter before Mr. Morris went from him, in which he tells him, that France has made such offers that he, Mr. M[cHenry] believed that the United States would accept them. These it would seem were after G[erry]'s departure, as well as those which he carry'd. From Mr. McH[enry], I received the inclosed return of new elected members as far as then known. An excellent man, indeed two, Hindman [4] and Matthews,[5] appear to have been

[1] William Bingham (1751–1804).
[2] Philip Church.
[3] John Fenno, editor of the United States Gazette.
[4] William Hindman (1743–1822).
[5] William Matthews.

turned out of the Eastern Shore of Maryland by Seney [1] and Christie [2]—men with Mr. Jefferson, and true blue in that cause. Now, sir, I know those two districts. Perhaps in the world, for their numbers there are not two country neighbourhoods more polished and enlightened, and the enlightened men nine-tenths with government, and the mass of the people much attached to the gentry. Yet so it is! I assure you, my dear sir, that gentlemen are not worth their salt in a political struggle, they are not indeed. I have been a slave in this sort of battling three elections, and know the hardships to which a *candidate*—for God bless us *we* are *candidates!*—has to work through during the contest which is from one to three months before an election. During this last I doubt not but the great body of the men of property were with the turned out members, but they will not work. They are in kid gloves, and can not shake hands with an honest man who is poor, and must be conducted by the hand. Besides *for whom* are they *to work?* for a neighbour, and a sort of rival! The others work hard, get numbers, brave it out, and triumph! But at Philadelphia Walne [3] is excellent, Thomas [4] better—an active intelligent lawyer—a quaker, forsooth, but a very bold faced one, about thirty, bustling, town-talking, town-meeting speaker, and with a sound character and sound understanding. Judge Stone,[5] North Carolina, is an old officer with one hand shot off, a good speaker I have heard, and a sound man. His one hand makes him a Briareus on our side. R. D. Spaight [6] is an old member, I mean of the former constitution of Congress. But the post hour is near at hand and I have to copy their names and give them their party place. I am, dear sir, truly yours always.

	Federalists	*Democrats*
Pennsylvania:	Robert Walne	Michael Leib (the Dr.)
	Richard Thomas	Peter Muhlenberg
	J[ohn] W[ilkes] Kittera	William [Robert] Brown
	Thomas Hartley Armstrong[7]	Albert Gallatin
	[Henry Woods][7]	Joseph Heister
New Jersey:	James M[H]. Imlay	James Lynn
	Franklin Davenport	John Condit
		Aaron Kitchell
Maryland:	J[ohn] Chew Thomas	Samuel Smith
	George Baer	Joshua Seney
	George Dent	Gabriel Christie
	William Craik	but Smith will go right! [8]
	John Dennis (my successor).	

[1] Joshua Seney (1750–1799). He died before taking his seat, and Joseph H. Nicholson took his place.
[2] Gabriel Christie.
[3] Robert Walne (1765–1836).
[4] Richard Thomas.
[5] David Stone (1770–1818).
[6] Richard Dobbs Spaight (1758–1802).
[7] The two last uncertain, if elected: said to be so. *Note by Murray.*
[8] Pickering to Murray, December 12, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

LXXV.

Rec. Dec. 20.

Ans. Dec. 22. 14 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Before this you will know that France has declared war against the kings of Sardinia[1] and of Naples[2]—Mack,[3] who seems no slouch, having entered the Roman territory, and demanded of Championnet that his French army should evacuate the territory instantly; declaring also, a leading idea, that the French had usurped and revolutionized that country since the peace of Campo Formio, which had not been acceded to by either his Sicilian Majesty nor the Emperor.

The first impression is in the fate that seems to await the Sardinian government. I have it in my power to assure you that twenty-five days since the king of Sardinia was lulled into a perfect confidence in the amicable intentions of his ally, that he was restless after the masquerade affair; but that on the recall of Brune and Ginguenet,[4] a calm succeeded and confidence absolutely. This being the state of security, and the Piedmontese army (30,000 good troops and well attached to their government) being much dispersed, and the citadel being in the hands of the French, about 1,000 men. I expect to hear that,as the declaration of war was on the 6th instant, so the first *coup de main* at Turin will be by the 7th or 8th. I learn that if the whole operation do not succeed by *coup de main*, it is probable that the struggle will be long and hardy; that an insurrection of the people throughout Piedmont may be expected against the French; that, however, there can be 10,000 French troops in Turin in twenty-four hours. We know that the principal fortresses are theirs, and the addition to Joubert's[5] army, which is 40,000 men, were daily passing towards Cisalpine in detachments. If the first blow succeed, a revolution will probably consummate the measures of *France!* There are in Turin alone at least 5000 men who think themselves philosophers and qualify'd to be first ministers. I know this. Many are men of letters, many doubtless men "Trium Litterarum," but all in love with sweet humanity and thirsting for confusion.

I will tell you what I learn also from a dispatch to a foreign minister here from his *court*, that contributes among the obvious causes for war with the Emperor also, to make me think that the general war but commences with these more partial hostilities. About a month since a select council was holden by the king of Naples—the British minister,[6] and Nelson, and General Mack present. The question was should the Neapolitan army under Mack immediately march into the Roman state? All urged it except Mack, who definitively declared that he could not do it until (or without) he received

[1] Charles Emmanuel IV.
[2] Ferdinand IV (1751–1825).
[3] Karl Mack von Leiberich (1752–1828).
[4] Pierre-Louis Ginguené (1748–1815).
[5] Barthélemy-Catherine Joubert (1769–1799).
[6] Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803).

orders from the Emperor to do so. The object of this fact was (in the dispatch) to prove the probability of peace at Rastadt. We see General Mack in the Roman state, using also among his causes of entrance the name of the Emperor on account of French usurpations. I expect that we shall now see the immense question try'd!! The French are in a worse state I think than a year since, the spirit of opposition more mature and more general.

I will tell you that by the *same way* I learned that France rely'd much on the good offices of the Prussian minister at Constantinople, and that she had apply'd for these to the king of Prussia, who had answered graciously, and also added, to the P[russian] minister at the Porte, as an inducement to Turkey to listen, that he was resolved on neutrality between France and Turkey, if war did come on. Yet I cannot, cannot believe it. A military power thus to turn political quaker—Othello turned mufti—it is not natural. Belgium be assured is a grand nest egg. If war come in upon the Rhine and the French get one check, we shall see the boors of Belgium doing wonders; and if they do I think it possible that the good for nothing things called gentlemen may insinuate at least opposition. I hope I shall not die soon, for it will take some time for me to subdue a great deal of uncharitableness which I have certainly got in Europe.

These events and their probable issues seem to have roused me from a stupor that else must have ended in paralysis or gout!

Entre nous Talleyrand wrote a short note to the Batavian minister at Paris announcing the declaration of war, advising him to dispatch a courier to the Hague, and saying he would soon talk to him about the subject. Our friends are not certain whether they are to be parties (for ceremony!) to the war or not. My own foreboding is that an active maritime cooperation will be demanded, that they will prove that it is impossible, and that they can do nothing; and then—why that *France* will wittily say, we are willing to accommodate you, we will commute SERVICE into MONEY. Feudal times are gone—services even—knight services are commuted. This is my fear.

I wrote on Tuesday. Dear sir, I am truly yours always.

P. S. Martini's sale of books ended yesterday. I wish you had sent your wants to me, for I have attended pretty constantly. Then I would have gone a little over, occasionally, if I had got under in other cases. In general the books sold high—many good ones not for their binding. I picked up Dodsley's *Annual Register*, from the beginning up to '89—21 volumes, and the New *Annual Registers* to '92 (I was obliged to buy both or neither), in all 34 volumes in fine condition and well bound, for 40 florins. I have got some Latin classics and some good French pretty cheap, and an English Büsching Geography,[1] six large quartos for eighteen florins. Yesterday I

[1] Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-1793), "New System of Geography," 1762.

bought, among other things whose characters I did not know, a work in which there must be some useful hints and indications to one who never saw a Bibliothèque raisonnée, viz. No. 5997. Octavo—Bib. Raisonnée,[1] etc., etc., 51 volumes, for f 410. I try'd hard to get de Baer, ten volumes, same sort of work and of good repute, but a gentleman, whose extravagant taste for books I had not seen defeated once, took the course against me and at thirty-three florins I ceased to bid. Tell me—you once did—on what Bib. Raisonnée do you most rely? I bought a Menagiana[2] (which I had not had time to look into), because I knew that he had preserved and translated into Latin the PURGED passages of Procopius, and I found but three pages, and those abominable. Some passages of Gibbon (whose *Étude de la Litterature*[3] by the bye I bought) had excited a relish for these prohibited libels. You see I am deep in book hunting, but I assure you that I bought *but* two manuscripts!! a clavicale magique in manuscript, sold for seven florins, and the purchaser declared his orders were to go to thirty guilders rather than miss it. Ochs[4] the Director ought to have had it.

The story of St. Domingo's independence seems to me to gain in credibility, and they seem willing to prepare the public mind at Paris for the event, as they publish extracts from Volney's *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, to prove that with Egypt, which produces all things indeed, they can do without colonies!

But Mr. McHenry's letter of 25 October says nothing of St. Domingo. The peaceable evacuation by the British, and Toussaint's proclamation in opposition to that of Hédonville, seem to authorize the report.[5]

LXXVI.

18 DECEMBER, '98.

DEAR SIR: No. 5 [December 8] came safely. I am ashamed when you talk of excuses. I know how irregular I myself am, and it is rather a consolation to find you a little so, also.

At Paris they say that after Mr. Gerry's arrival, there was a great change in government and people, and that a new minister is talked of to be sent out, so very satisfactory was the proposal which Mr. G[erry] carry'd. I do not believe this. It is possible, and that is all.

Here is a rumor that peace with the Empire is at hand. I do not believe it. It is France's interest that the Empire should be her theatre, if war break out with the Emperor. I neither believe their accounts of the victory over the troops of Naples. Wretched though

[1] "Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe."
[2] A collection of remarks of Gilles Ménage, probably in the edition of B. de la Monnoye (1715).
[3] "Essai sur l'étude de la Littérature," London, 1861.
[4] Peter Ochs (1749–1821), director of the Swiss republic.
[5] Adams to Murray, December 15, 18, 1798, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, December 15, in Pickering MSS.

I suppose those, the story is improbable. In my last I inclosed a copy of returns to Congress, but find you had heard. I hear nothing of my young secretary, Mr. McHenry, and Mountflorence's three months expire the 20th inst. I hear not of Logan. If all is known, I shall travel with opposition ink from North to South, but I counted on it. We have nothing new. Brabant still going on. I am, dear sir, always, etc.

LXXVII.

Rec. Dec. 27.
Ans. Jan. 1. 21 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: We are overpowered with shreds of news here—which avail little in satisfying curiosity, because nothing uniform can be made of them to suit their subjects. For instance, that Bonaparte has been killed, nay, three times killed; that his army has mutiny'd; that the same army has been routed; that a peace with the Empire without the Emperor, Thuringia (?), and Saxony is ready, if not signed with France. The first seems improbable, the last seems more improbable. I know too little of the Germanic body to have accurate ideas on all subjects which are presupposed in such an arrangement, but I can not see how France would accept a treaty of peace with those smaller powers (Prussia accepted small) who have not the ability either as to force or constitutional right to make good the obligations on many points which seem to belong to the projected basis of the treaty,—for instance, the Rhine, the tolls, the islands, secularizations, debts. I can suppose that to secure a poor and precarious neutrality *they* could be mighty willing to sign the treaty, but that if war is with the Emperor, that France would not like to take them all at their word. Even yet I can not believe in this news which is almost official. It would be bad for France to have to fight the Emperor in Italy only, shut out by peace on the Rhine from her power of living a campaign at free cost among weak enemies. On one only ground can I see probability in this talked of partial peace, as a political manœuvre to place parts of the Empire in such a state of things as will render its dismemberment more easy; and another, that having got what they demand from seven out of ten, they will make peace with the Emperor by giving up the Roman territory to partition, on condition of their having that part of Piedmont which is convenient to them. If the Emperor's army on the borders, and the Venetian borders and Joubert's armies, do not interfere in any way in support of Championnet and Naples, this whole march of Naples and the declaration of war against her will seem to me but a bloody farce, to save appearances under an understanding between the Emperor and France. And yet I can not believe that the French Directory wish for peace. The personal interests and safety of the five are against it,

A Mr. Boland from Philadelphia called yesterday on his way to Bourdeaux where his wife is, and tells me that the fever has been shocking at Philadelphia and New York and New London! Among others we lament the death of two of the most lovely and amiable young women in Philadelphia, Miss Breck and Miss Westcott!! Your fair and virtuous and accomplished countrywomen! Trade, down. Twenty frigates he says at least would have been afloat but for this terrible visitation. He brought to Mr. King all Eustace's numbers against Mun[roe] (a strange obligingness, to give them to K!) He says that all are disappointed, that E[ustace] has not proved anything of consequence. By the bye I take Mr. B[oland] to be an Irish gentleman, though a citizen of the United States. I have but one of E[ustace]'s numbers, the first. It is entirely exordium, and reminded me of my first speech to a good natured jury. I fear the rest will still have the resemblance, and be principally exordium. He, Mr. B[oland], says that Harper depended for the proof of the conspiracy upon E[ustace]'s stock of facts. I do not believe this. I know Harper too well to think so. He is a man of fire, but quite cool in his judgment, not passionate nor precipitate, nor flighty, and has a sagacity exceedingly cautious and weighing in the use of argument. He may, perhaps, delight a little too much in his own powers of illustrating what is sound and pretty clear, and therefore speak too often; but I have generally seen him well bottomed in his conclusions. Nor do I believe that he who is a man of the world, and a pleasant man, would be dazzled by E[ustace]'s foreign gait and sparkling address.

Your No. 5 [December 8] I had the pleasure to receive safely. We are quiet here. Have you Hamilton's report on the first institution of the bank? If you have and could inclose it to me, I should be much obliged and would return it safely. I am, dear sir, always yours, etc., etc.[1]

LXXVIII.

Rec. Dec. 30.

Ans. Jan. 1. XMAS DAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I am not a Belgic insurgent, but on this day of persecution against the cross, I may be allowed without a suspicion of rebellion against philosophy to make the above mark. This mark is undoubtedly fading away, and will soon be nowhere recognized but among the class of people from whom it's author spring—the poor, and I hope they will keep it, and at some other time once more spread it. It is impossible for us churchmen who have received childhood impressions of stated days, whatever ravages time and fashion may make upon the opinions once connected with them, not to feel a pause of greater reflection on those days than on others; and it is

[1] Adams to Murray, December 22, 25, 1798, in Adams MSS.

natural for me merely to exclaim, What a difference of respect does this very day now meet with, from that it received even ten years since! It's great caterer and purveyor even removed from his holy Rome since this day twelve months! and philosophy in time flying before the wickedest votaries of St. Januarius, whom the silky Neapolitans consider as to the Diety what was said of a political favorite to a king, a power behind it greater than the throne itself. What a wretched picture of dregs and filth does the present time present. When I closed my last we had not received the account of the King of Sardinia's fate.[1] You see how cleanly, where a point is determined on, they carry and cooperate things. Observe. You have known already Joubert's, dat'd the 5, the war at Paris the 6, the ultimatum the 6th, the movement of the Rhine army the 10th (to produce unanimity at Rastadt), the capitulation of the King, poor creature, the 9th, Piedmont in all its ports and its strength; for the army joined Joubert's (*they* say) in their power, they could wait the issue of the ultimatum which was fixed for the 12th, with confidence.

I have I think often told you what would be the fate of this kingdom. I had besides public appearances a singular and very certain source, I now find him, of accurate intelligence of what the French would do in Piedmont! I can *entre nous* only now tell you that Mr. Bossi,[2] the Sardinian chargé here, is in the new provisional government of Piedmont—you find his name in the fifteen named by Joubert (who knew him here). He goes in a few days. Piedmont will be certainly united to France!!! in some few months.

How does this blow, this thunder, seem to affect some people with you? Were I a king, I would immediately buy a piece of ground in Sardinia, where the king of that *title* has gone into exile, and build a pretty house, and let it wait for me. For indeed that island will have more royal refugees. This blow must appal these gentlemen. The army of Piedmont was good, it did not like the French. But a few officers may be gained, and when the army sees its chief timid, uncertain or fool, when he fears to exert his means, and depends upon adroitness and policy, the army will go where enterprize and valor give them employment. This was a desertion because the man who ought to, would not, lead them, or point out their career and something to be done was *essential* to them. 150,000 stand of firearms were found in the arsenal of the King—doubtless for the study and admiration of those contemptible dilletanti whose paradise is a carpet, wax lights, and cards, and pictures! Not even a sly stiletto used on this occasion, no struggle, though their estates, their precious EASE, and their bread depended on the support of the government—wretched as was that miserable government. And here in Belgium, poor peas-

[1] His act of renunciation is in "Annual Register," 1798, 275.

[2] Joseph-Charles-Aurèle Bossi (1758–1823).

ants fighting the cause of wealth, order and regular government, the gentry playing the safe politicians, and "recommending themselves"!! There seems to me to be no nature, no feelings, no liver nor heart on the continent except in Switzerland, and among the poor, and the very peasants. If I were to see the castle change masters with the cottage, I do not know that I should repine, for the peasant is the real gentleman, and the nobleman the real peasant of former days. But there is no end to the materials for railing, and the day reminds me that it ought to teach a little more charity. The Roman republic, perhaps that of Cisalpine, seems intended to follow Venice and be portioned among land jobbers. So that the peace with the E. and F. seems to me probable, nay certain, if we do not see the King of Naples violently attacked by the French army under Joubert. Wish Mrs. Adams a merry and happy xmas for us, and believe me, etc., etc.

Your 6. and 7 [December 11, 15] came safe after the post hour, and together. I rejoice that I thought with you.

LXXIX.

Rec. Jan. 3.
Ans. Jan. 5. 28 December, 1798.

Dear Sir: All your numbers are regularly received, that of the 18th inst. inclusively. Since Tuesday my eyes have been a good deal affected either by cold or candle light. I am older than you and can tell you what evils you will meet as you approach 37. Your eyes will alarm you unless you husband them now, and to one who loves literary idleness as I do there is scarcely anything so terrifying as the fear of blindness. It is the spectre to the mind's old age that poverty is to the body, and includes immense deprivation. The eyes are the workmen whose faculties should be economised to the end. You may see that I have been in pain and in fright too, but am better. The cold is the only news here. For two nights the mercury has stood in my little garden on a western exposure at two below 0 in Fahrenheit—which is that of the year 1740. I do not think we ever have it colder in the United States, though I never owned a thermometer in my life, and never attended beyond my sensations to the history of the weather. Yet I see by this small taste of philosophical fiddling that it becomes agreeable, and it is so easy, so specious and so distant from those vulgar avocations that belong to the business of life, that I do not wonder that this sort of thing has supply'd the place of chivalry among the nobility of this continent. Nor is it surprising that in a country like this where almost every house has a thermometer, those of some servants even, that the French should enter upon the ice, and that the gentlemen should ascertain the degree of cold necessary to bear a French soldier with exact precision

and that in their gilded halls too, without exposure to the frost! and that too within the splendid mansion whose marble portico is defended from the rude shock of cart wheels BY THE HALF BURIED CANNON of their bold ancestors. But when the mercury is at 18 above 0 in the room where I write, there would be no end to splenetic railing if I did not recollect that it can not be as pleasant to you to hear as for me to indulge, and that in these times to rail against the radical imbecility of continental society in its upper ranks is little more than idling about the weather glass, and worse, as we *can* raise the mercury of the last.

Every one has been housed and I have not seen a creature but Mrs. M. since Xmas night. The French papers have arrived as I write, but the post hour of 12 is close at hand and I know not of any news. On the 18 September I see Buonaparte was safe in Egypt.

I hear nothing from Philadelphia. My last is of 14 July last—yes, from Paris yesterday that *Logan* had arrived, and that by letters to Paris from the United States Mr. G[erry's] arrival had produced no change.

That at Paris a general stagnation of business has follow'd the banking embarrassments. . . . Dear sir, always most truly yours.[1]

LXXX.

1 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Pray accept my happy wishes for a happy new year for you and Mrs. Adams, and my thanks for your new year's gift, the C, which I got safely last night, but can not for my life make it out. I have turned the affair [2] upside down and downside down, this side and the other, placed the slip in all possible bearings, and "have worked all night but caught no fish"—for I was at it till late. The first 21 I saw into (very profoundly), and it excited me much. *Davus sum, non Oedipus.* Your No. 9 arrived in the evening on Saturday, your 10 last night. My eyes are bad, and I dare not indulge in scribbling nor reading till they get better. My *Wilmington Packet* memoir, on which I worked much in the night during Martini's sale, helped to make them worse. That affair appears to me so plain, that I even have hopes, particularly since I spoke to the minister on it. It was perfectly unnecessary for me to write to the committee about it. Their note and Hahn's conversation with me several times convinced me that it was throwing away what light shot I had. So I reserved my note till things got settled, which was in September, and then I received a letter from Mr. Rubod,[3] agent of *Andrews*, informing me that he would soon be at The Hague upon this business. Hoping he might have something in opposition to some hard assertions of the committee, I waited till his arrival which was some time the beginning of last month.

[1] Adams to Murray, January 1, 1799, in Adams MSS. [2] A cypher designed by Adams. [3] J. F. Rubod.

I find that the Emperor has *not*, as Emperor, agreed to the French ultimatum, though it was roundly asserted here [as] true twelve days since.

Something serious I believe has happened in Egypt. There is seldom scandal without some truth Mrs. Candour says; it is so of news. I must have misnumbered my letter which is missing. I hear not from America. The fleet at the Texel *will try* to join that at Brest!! Dear sir, always most truly yours.

LXXXI.

Rec. Jan. 10.

Ans. Jan. 12. 4 JANUARY, '99.

DEAR SIR: I still cannot get further than the figure 21, and this opens a point of curious inquiry at present.

It is singular that we see nothing of the Emperor in Italy. If once a tide of French victory awaken the revolutionary spirit of Naples, the painted bubble of Italian royalty is shivered into thin air, and armies cannot cure the moral and political consequences. And as to national character, I have no conception of such a thing south of Switzerland, so that I think could not oppose a barrier. It seems to me that these gentry act on the idea of suffering a thing which is probable to happen, relying on a power of curing it afterwards; and the French on a conviction that *events* decide everything; these once felt, that nothing human can restore the thing affected to a sameness of being. The last are right. Power cannot again knit up an old rotten stocking, which full of ten thousand darns and renovations has been once unraveled rudely. If the Emperor do not step in, the rapidity with which part even of Joubert's army will pour down into the south of Italy will dispatch the Neapolitan monarchy, will make after assistance, not nothing—but ineffectual to its end.

It is still supposed by hundreds, however, that the same day that the King of Sardinia was *dismissed* by Joubert, an express carry'd offers to Vienna on the basis of partition making Rome and part of Cisalpine parts of the terms. For myself I can not believe that the Emperor can now, especially since this event at Turin, be at peace. A perfectly new position is now assumed by his enemy by the absolute dominion of those countries which are to command all Italy, if possessed by France. I cannot bring myself to think that he can make peace.

Nor can I think that P[russia] seriously intends to leave her frontier exposed to such a neighbor as the French Republic, which by possessing the Batavian territory borders on much of her territory. So I yet cannot see a continental peace this year.

The Directory you see are very kind in sending General Brune to the Hague after his revolution at Milan in October, and after dis-

avowing it and attributing that affair to military violence—and he was the agent—people begin to look about for things here not *strange* but unhappy; but as long as Belgium keeps in hot water, nothing harsh I think will be done here. Dear sir, always truly and sincerely yours.[1]

LXXXII.

Rec. Jan. 14.

Ans. Jan. 15. 7TH JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your No. 1 reached me safely last night. I do not wonder that you have been indisposed. The excessive cold will account I hope for your illness, for as the weather is softer you will I hope have felt restored. Here have been several ill, and among some I find diseases attributed to the long drought, as I hear that they consider much moisture in the air even as necessary to the health of the people. This cause if applicable to a Dutch constitution will not apply to yours. Flannel I once more use as essential to a sedentary man.

Last night's *Rédacteur* gave me the very laconic message of the Directory of France certifying the retreat of the Neapolitan army from the Roman republic, I think about the 14 or 15 December. Thus the French have fulfilled their promise "in twenty days we will return." They did so in seventeen! Lord have mercy on order and law, if 50,000 of the friends of order and law are to run away from a country where the will of the people cherished them, from 15,000!! a mournful foretaste of future revolutions. For I take it for granted that Naples is a revolutionized kingdom before you get this, if the imperial army is not very quick in using the check-string on the Adige, and along the line that faces the left and centre of the French army in the north of Italy. For I am sure that they must have prepared much co-operative matter at Naples, ready for such a crisis as will be produced in that corrupt and silky city as soon as it is positively known that their sovereign and the great Mack are flying before the French army! Tuscany too by this time must have experienced the effects of the Leghorn affair, and a new source of strength, equal to all the disposable property of these two states, with the addition of all that confiscation I found last spring at Rome, will be placed at the command of the terrible republic, before the dear 150 has decided on some petty question about the tollage of a town. More territory, more wealth, and more important positions have been mastered during the armistice of Campo Formio than were taken in any one of the most brilliant campaigns! While the Germans were dozing over plans of secularization, new sources of contest, if made! at Rastadt!! Roman Territory and wealth and its flanking posi-

[1] Adams to Murray, January 5, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, January 7, in Pickering MSS.

tion, Switzerland and its military tactic, Malta, Egypt, Piedmont, now probably Naples and all Italy, out of the imperial line! Thus the ball grows in rolling. I have not a doubt but that there was not one gentleman in all Rome who exerted a little finger, though loaded with diamonds to help out the citizens and the people of Rome and the only spirited prince in Europe, though there were abundant means to be used and successfully. If the Emperor do not move, if he have not moved with rapidity before this, Naples and Sicily must go to Sardinia and then the fear of the French affairs may justly make the Danube tremble.

Your alluding even to Cato made me laugh, and brought to mind old Sheridan's way of acting him.

"Full bottom'd wig, flower'd gown, and lacquered chair," and put me in the *relenting* mood, so that I accepted your mediation and gave my pity. Perhaps, too, I might act in the same way were I so placed—so unhappily placed! There are two men born here who seem to me to have *energy*—Daendels and de Winter, and I think also the present Minister of the Marine, Spoors. One other, on the opposite side, is among the few of the natives who have it—Prince Frederick of Orange.[1] I know dozens of others who seem to be void of it, who all the same are worthy men, of respectable talents, some even of good ones, with a taste for books, for arts and science, and for that last taste that seems at all times to be the warning of departed energy—I mean *gardening;* with private virtues, and with disinterested *wishes* for the public good and even INDEPENDENCE. And I am convinced that Bolingbroke was more splenetic that just when he declared that "when a government is worn out all arts, science, wit, public and private virtue, go out at the same time." I quote from memory. Refinement has disabled the powers of government, and the governments of the continent are worn out in the very springs upon which their power moved; but wit, arts, science, and even private virtues, have undoubtedly survived, survived to render the approaching scenes of tyranny, *usurped* tyranny! the more painful; as among elegant voluptuaries, and lechers of great mental refinement, we see how fretting the *taste* and the wish for enjoyment became when the passions have survived the powers of gratification! For these very men, void as they are of energy, have contributed to plunge states into distraction, from an acuteness of criticism that very easily could expose the faults in the theory and practice often of the worn out machines. Having done this they have not energy to struggle in the storm which they raised. They survive the wreck and have yet about their minds great taste for the Ideal Beautiful, great abhorrence for the actual Horrible; but there their powers stop. They fret, droop and hope. Those however who were in

[1] Died this month of the putrid fever at Padua.

power had not fortitude to defend themselves, as desperate men who had any blood left generally would have done. In thus railing, however, I am willing to concede greatly to the unhappy state of things to which no human foresight could have reached, except by very general speculation like that of the immortal Burke's.

I have no apology to offer to you for so frequently and so crudely railing and croaking, but a belief that grows daily stronger on me that we are on the dawn of that subversion of Europe, good and bad, that leaves an uncertainty on the mind which warrants the fear of as profound a despotism and as terrible a one, as that which took place in the Roman Empire after the smallest remains of the independence of the free cities, ally'd nations, kings, and republics, were totally destroy'd. As a republican I dread this more I think than I should do were I a royalist. Still I cling to the rock that the United States will outlive the deluge! should it again please God that it should spread over this continent; and I still have a hope that Great Britain may yet stem the torrent and remain unshaken!

As to Buonaparte, *some* great embarrassment I think must have happened to him. As to Belgium, things are I believe very serious, notwithstanding the coolness of the Emperor. Lately between Lier and Malines the French were more roughly handled than they like to tell. Most truly, dear sir, yours always, etc., etc.

I think I told you that the Citizen Bossi, chargé des affaires of the King of Sardinia, went away some days since. He is one of the fifteen new government at Turin.[1]

LXXXIII.

Rec. Jan. 17.
Ans. Jan. 19. 11TH JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The proclamation of the French commissioners, dated at the head quarters of the Consuls, Perousa, a few days after the march of the Championnet from Rome, to the Roman Republic, is very pleasant. It hurls curses steeped in burning brimstone against the King of Naples—for what! Only because he had attacked the Romans *without* a declaration of war! "contre le DROIT des PEUPLES—*qui autorise chaque Nation à se donner le gouvernement qui se convient*"!! At the same instant les *Peuples* were exercising their *Droits* in trying to overturn that French government which usurpation last spring imposed upon them. For this however towns are committed to flames, and the *peuples* are assassins. So lowly do I think of these Italian Romans that I doubt not that the manner of exercising the right which the proclamation asserts was really assassination; but this act merits a score as the assertion of the most humane principles in the midst of their open and ordered violation.

[1] Murray to Pickering, January 8, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, January 8, in Adams MSS.

I feel a little unusually inclined to ill humor because I just learn from Bourne that Captain Scott, who lately left the Texel for Charleston, has been carry'd into Cherbourg!! He has some dispatches from me! Truth like murder will out. Yesterday I also received a letter from Mr. Dewees of Maryland, dated Bordeaux, carry'd with his fine ship and tobacco and *condemned* the other day. He says his loss is £10,000. He says he is convinced that things will be arranged. He thought otherwise when he left America (very lately), but now he sees how they think in France. Who can wonder at the superstitions of former times. You see he is at a seaport in France. I know him to be a good man and a friend to government, and he believes the first insinuating shrug of amity at a time when he loses £10,000!—by enmity. Hope is one of the deepest laid of all political diseases in these times, it is indeed.

On a second reading of the message I find that the Directory do not assert the re-entry of the French army into Rome; but certainly if they have not entered, the Directory have spoken uncandidly, for it is a plain inference. I hear confidentially that eleven days since the Emperor was UNDECIDED on the pressing instances of the poor Neapolitan Minister for instant aid. But Cobenzl [1] rules, and I have long understood that he is philosophical. Alas, this poor Neapolitan King and his silky host will go the way of all the kings of this continent. Great Britain probably urged him to his measures under a natural expectation that, as events produce systems, the Emperor would be obliged to step forward, if the French were suddenly too hard for him; but this rash shepherd has carry'd his tender flocks too far, and I see no fold in the rear strong enough to secure them from the wolves whom they have braved. And this bravest Corydon of princes will probably be indebted to Nelson for personal safety—he and his *Mack-erroneous* suite. Excuse the pun to Mrs. Adams! and tell her with my most respectful compliments that it is lawful though not liberal to use that light sort of weapon against a *retreating* army, as it is a sort of Parthian species of offence, which is the best reason I can think of as an apology for the remains of youthful bad habits. But as the use of it is a certain evidence that the figure worker is very poor naturally or quite exhausted, as turning a coat is a proof that its best side is worn out, I will only add that I am as usual most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

Young Sands [2] (a good man), a Mr. Taylor Allen and one other, are in the Temple at Paris, suspected to have aided Sir S. Smith.[3] Col. Hichborn, ordered to quit Paris, lives at Passy.[4]

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[1] Philip Cobenzl (1741–1810).

[2] Joseph Sands, son of Comfort Sands of New York.

[3] William Sidney Smith (1764–1840), who had escaped from France in May, 1798, after a two years' confinement in prison.

[4] Adams to Murray, January 12, 15, 1799, in Adams MSS.

Rec. Jan. 21.
Ans. Jan. 22. 15 JANUARY, 1799.

Your 3, [January 8][1] with its inclosed favor came safe yesterday. I thank you for your persevering kindness, but my pride, which was piqued by resistance, and my curiosity, inflamed by a few half meanings which I picked from the nut without quite breaking it, had already gained me the victory last Saturday and before your auxiliary came to my assistance. Yes "great A,—little (and something) B, the cat's in the cupboard and she cant see"—puzzled me, but great A has been a leader of letters a long time, and with great application and his aid I got the path that led me out of the woods of cyphers. As to Ursa *Minor* I do not wonder; but what could make her weak enough to offer such a bargain, except to apologize for lapse of time, is inconceivable. Was the *rock* fertile land, I doubt if the United States would accept it as a gift. Like some of poor Mr. Morris's[2] wild land purchases, and the Jew's razors in P. Pindar, it was made to be sold, not used. The 10,000 will come to late to save. They may do honor to the departed by attending the funeral and appease the manes by a few human sacrifices. It is all most wretched work, though I have so often laughed at those political Drawcansirs whose characters one reads of in books of comic satyre, that I often laugh at myself on account of the readiness with which I think of mending the state of Europe!

That you should know anything I ever wrote or said to you at so great a distance of time with remembrance, believe me, did really give me a momentary exultation which I am not ashamed to own to myself afterwards, though it was *vanity*. To have deserved such recollection I assure you will be a pleasing reflection to me; and the more agreeable because I remember so many very weak things that I have said and written particularly in my younger days! I was not so much surprised at your long and kindly remembrance of me, as at the idea of balls, etc., etc., etc., five times a week often!! Good, a pleasant contrast to this place. Rarely indeed is there cheer here. The most agreeable resort to me is The Society (not the old, of which by the same token I am a member and a frequenter) but the Government Society, in the ci-devant natural history cabinet of the Prince of Orange, corner of the Buÿten-hooft, where I am a distinguished smoker; and where next to commerce (play), the contest would seem to be whether the external FOG should be thicker than the interior smoke. We generally, I think, even then prove that art vanquishes nature in all *our* Dutch endeavors. Yet this is for relaxation from toils of state, and I believe it has that effect; besides it prepares the skin to resist the moist air. So you see there is as much

[1] A new series began the year.

[2] Robert Morris.

reason in smoking men as in the roasting of eggs, which Burke said was one proof of rationality.

But to return to grievances of state, as you must do after the assemblies of "the vulgar great"—the note of the 2nd January (13 Nivôse) from the French Ministers at Rastadt to the German Deputation seems to me to be a touchstone, and to place the *Empire* as well as its head exactly where they ought to have foreseen that simple demand could place them, and would be used to place them, the instant contingencies favorable to it should enable the French to make it. These are true elephant hunters, and have not lit up their fires and shown their cordon till the moment when the cordon was finished; and they are the worthy and sagacious and noble elephants who wise and ponderous have not observed the cordon nor attended to the policy that formed it. For it may be truly feared that, thus backed by the resources of Italy for the next campaign, without drawing a bushel from France, the French will be too powerful for her disjointed opponents! I fear this, because though means are abundant, in the passions and resentments of the PEOPLE, wherever French arms have been, yet it may be doubted if the old methodical ministers of Germany have boldness enough to forget the *art* of war is using irregular as well as regular means; and in adopting modes of defence and offence and policy very opposite to the genius of former contests. When all is not boldly hazarded now, it seems to me that nothing can be preserved long.

A vessel has just arrived at the Texel from the United States—left it 20th November. No letters for me. I hear no news by her. We are both doubtless very impatient for the President's speech. It will decide me secretly whether I shall not snugly arrange for departure, at least to be ready. V[an] C[leef] has your letter. I will even thank you for those books and take care of them in all contingencies. Dear sir, truly always yours.

P. S. The Paris papers have just arrived. I see that an action has been fought lately (since the talk of the flight of Naples) near Rome, and it is remarkable that the French general says "Mack having intended to attack and cut off the French army," etc., etc. The French say they beat Mack, but this is very different from running away to Naples. Who knows but that modest troops may grow less bashful after they have grown a little hardy by running so often. The French here say that Joubert will be at Leghorn.

LXXXV.

Rec. Jan. 24.
Ans. Jan. 26. 18 JANUARY, 1799.

The late accounts relative to the Neapolitan army which we find in the Paris papers are not very reconcileable on first appearances.

Viterbo is six leagues to the north of Rome, Naples is to the south; yet the papers say that Championnet approaches Naples, while they confess that a Neapolitan army has handled them without mittens between Rome and Viterbo, to which last place a French force under Kellerman [1] was going when rencontred by the Neapolitans. Mr. Champigny, to whom I stated this difficulty, said one division of the French might be near Naples and the other near and north of Rome. That is true; but how does the existence of so large a Neapolitan force north of Rome, square with the flight of the whole Neapolitan army after the evacuation! He thought there might be some mistake. The Leyden paper has to-day a hint about TREACHERY in the Neapolitan army, and hints at the Prince of Tarento [2]—puny wretched treasons! Terror and promotion are the only two principles upon which the established governments of the continent can now stand. When even the prejudices of fealty and honor are swallow'd in philosophical liberality and cosmopolitism, fear and self-love under the control of cunning with a whip of scorpions must supply their place. But to be less poetical: The only power in Europe that seems to me to have an absolute command over all the means of its empire is the French Directory, and the foundation of that power is not in prejudices, not in attachment, it is in that FEAR which the horror of Robespierre's reign settled as the foundation of the republican power of France. With this at bottom it can do and it does what no old and absolute government on earth ever did or can do. The *creed* of their Trinity—"Liberty, Equality, Death"—being once settled as the orthodox and only true creed of political salvation, all things bend to it in practice, no matter how repugnant to liberty; all means are sanctify'd because the cause is holy! So they go on, with philosophy and tenderness in the front of their dogmas, proclamations and *arrêtés*, though these are expressly to put thousands to death, and to give a city to slaughter and flames, because a French soldier may have been killed unfairly in it. Fear collects the force of all France, and cunning and skill direct that force. Treason is not heard of. They do justice to military merit, they promote an humble man of value. They are thus so much masters of their means that they are in the eyes of many in a spasm, whereas they are in a state of deeply designed organization of means according to the natural course of the passions, when the ruling power has a basis in every man's mind, and when they are skillfully made the most of.

The other powers can not use these means. They can not set in motion all their energies. Laws, old habits and usages, the things for which they say they fight, are obstacles to their very preserva-

[1] François Etienne Kellermann (1770–1835).

[2] "The treachery in the Neapolitan army is a subject of more than suspicion, and was but too well founded. This Prince of Tarento is a French emigrant, a Duke de la Frimoille, allied to the blood of the Bourbons; and he is the man who sets the example of running away." Adams to Murray, January 26, 1799.

tion. A man who struggles against a naked beggar if he would save his clothes must strip, too, or the beggar will beat him. In these speculations, in which I pour out my mind in the easy confidence of security, and chit-chat with you, I am not absolutely for imitation of the French, but as far as is consistent with that virtue and religion which are the basis of public as well as private happiness, I would have much of their system imitated—at least the dramatic part, in which they so greatly excel, and in an extension of those means of *fear* which the old governments have in store in the fashion of their own forms.

To this sort of scribbling all I ask is your patience; that will be the only indulgence I require. I can not help thinking gloomily, and there is not a single being here to whom I can empty my mind in this way. You see distance is no barrier against a determined scribbler.

The note to Count Lehrbach[1] will unfold the mysteries of 1799. I am very anxious to hear of its issue for NOW seems to me to be the crisis.

An armed (letters of marque) from Boston, a Mr. Rand supercargo, arrived three days since at the Texel and Rand says (I hear) that our government mean to go on only on the defensive, as they now are. The President's speech will inform us. We must have it in a few days. Always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

Pray do me the favor of informing me what day is the President's birthday.[2]

LXXXVI.

22 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have been exceedingly sick for four days, and can only have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your No. 5. of 15th inst.

Had the Hon. Mr. Grenville[3] been sent by a government as energetic as that of France, on a mission so very important, he would probably see Cayenne for suffering ice to detain him where even the pacquet boats pass. The French papers some time since said he was at *Audley-end*, after returning to Yarmouth. His oil might have softened the vinegar and also set the rusty wheels in motion three weeks since, had he not been too much of a gentleman to do hardy things in an ungraceful manner, by getting into an ice boat on the coast near the Elb. I hear not from home! *Vide* the message of the Directory 22d Nivôse (9th inst.) on privateers, etc., etc. I inclose it to the government by this post. I am, dear sir, always most truly yours.

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[1] Count Lehrbach, of Austria, one of the members of the Congress at Rastadt.

[2] October 31, 1735. Adams to Murray, January 19, 22, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[3] Thomas Grenville (1755–1846). The ship in which he embarked was driven back by the ice, and the *Proserpine*, to which he transferred himself, was wrecked off the Newerke Island, and Grenville lost everything but his dispatches. He arrived at Berlin too late to effect the intended agreement between Prussia and Great Britain against France.

I am now without a Secretary. Mountflorence's four months expired day before yesterday. He has asked to be continued *nominally* and as *honorary* secretary; there is no difficulty in agreeing to this. He is a true man and a very good man.

LXXXVII.

25 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I still continue an invalid, and am a notable dealer in drugs with a little Yew Tree apothecary in the Hoot-Straat, who first obtained my custom by bowing to me when I lived at the Turenne, whenever he caught a view of my sickly visage in passing daily by his shop. Heymans became my body physician, because I heard he had been yours and your brother's, and he continues to strengthen my confidence in him. My disease is a great deal of bile which shows itself in my skin, but as that is clearing away before the rays of my little Apollo, and as I feel better, I shall be out in a day or two. Were I an unlucky first magistrate of Lucca, Duke of Tuscany, or King of Naples, I should not wonder at this bilious habit. All these seem to be destined to destruction by the last accounts, though these accounts are exclusively on the French side. Mack's offer of an armistice was probably to gain time, under the expectation of the arrival of the Russians, whom the papers lately openly announced as intended for Italy. The slow indecision of the Emperor is no longer surprising to me. Such astonishing and repeated proofs of blindness have occurred last autumn that I should now be surprised. Indeed I should, were he to act with precision as to timing his steps, or extensive plan as to their line of March. Last October France was weak in troops, weak in running cash and available property, weak, at least apparently—a little humbled in spirit; and Nelson had given a blow that had awakened that sort of exultation against her which was in my way of thinking a state of public opinion very important as a circumstance coincident with other things. Belgium rose. The very proximate cause of that insurrection, the conscription, proved that the armies of France wanted immense recruiting. There was a concurrence of events and of opinion, and a state of desperation—negotiation at Rastadt, and a whole state of things that seemed to declare that if any opposition was to be made, then was the time. To these you will add the Russians and Turks in actual activity in the Mediterranean, the balancing state of Piedmont, the excessive desperation of Cisalpine and Swiss, and the late insurrection in the Roman territories, and the alert appearances of Naples. Events which no skill can create nor no money purchase were sufficient to be gazed at, feed spleen, and make the unhappy discontented enjoy a gleam of sunshine and chuckle in their clubs—only! Since, war and rapine have replenished the arsenals and the coffers of France and prepared for her fresh sources for future success and aggrandizement.

I hear not from America. I mentioned I think on Tuesday that I received your favor of 15th, No. 5. I continue Maj. Mountflorence another month as secretary. I am always most truly yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[1]

LXXXVIII.

31 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your No. 7 [January 22] came safe on day before yesterday but I was so occupy'd and interrupted at the post hours that I could not enjoy my usual pleasure of dropping a line.

All still hangs in fearful darkness to us yet—no light from Rastadt. Your remark at the retreat of the French from Tuscany, etc., etc., seems perfectly just.[2] One can not on any other principle account for the event. I begin still more to doubt about their success in Naples. We hear not officially since the 2d January, inst. If the Russians have arrived, at least the struggle would be prolonged. Still I *can not* believe that it is the interest of the Directory to make peace, and therefore I can not expect that event. You can see FEAR of *France* in every line of LePeaux's[3] speech, 21 inst., excessive solicitude respecting the public mind, and more fear of Anarchists, *i. e.*, the *opponents* of the vast unlimited power of the Directory, than of censure upon the last of the Capets! However, I sometimes think, while loosely speculating on the interesting retrograde of things before us, that should the war continue, as Messieurs the Director seem to will, in a no very distant time, poverty, deprivation in a thousand ways, and even WANT, will have put into training bands of bold and desperate men, who will find leaders and give a specimen of a new sort of war in the heart of France and of the affiliated nations. If this Belgium go on as Vendée did, and other districts get the fever, we may see it soon.

Col. H[ichborn] returned today from Paris. Young A[ndrews] only, not both, is in the Temple. H[ichborn] is very angry at them, and curses them now more than any man I have heard for a long time. I had told him in September that France was determined to dominate everywhere. We then did not agree. He reminded me of this today, and says he is now convinced of that truth, and that she would rule over us, if she could; but finding that she can neither seduce nor frighten us, and being too distant for her, she wishes to do us justice. I asked him if he knew what were the proposals she was said to have sent out by Mr. Woodward and Mr. Gerry? He says he found that W[oodward]'s were stronger than G[erry]'s: that 1. she avow'd a disposition amicable, and to settle amicably, as a basis on which to

[1] Adams to Murray, January 26, 29, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, January 28, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to McHenry, January 30, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 371.

[2] Last night I heard however that there is some reason to think that the retiring was owing to a very positive message on the part of the Emperor, that advancing would be war with him! *Note by Murray.*

[3] Louis-Marie Larevellière de Lépeaux (1753–1824.)

enter on negotiation; 2. To give up all claims to satisfaction from our government for supposed insults; 3. To give up all demands of loan and of money; 3d[4], if they could not agree upon indemnity for captures, to leave the cases to be settled by commissioners; and finally to forget what had previously passed respecting the first and second overtures from us. He says certainly T[alleyrand] does disapprove the points insisted on about *rôle d'équipage* and all the captures under it; that the Directory wish to draw the privateers to order, for they find ruin attends their present system; that when talked to by T[alleyrand] he avow'd that nothing would do in the United States, except repealing the laws by which our vessels had been taken, as preliminary; that Adet is outrageous at the system of privateering, and speaks his opinion; that the late piece in the *Rédacteur,* which preceded the message on prize cause, etc., etc., signed "*St. Aubin,*" was approved by the Directory before it went to press, and that they adopt St. A[ubin]'s principles; that Volney [1] is convinced that the whole of the American people are bitter enemies, and hate the French on account of the depredations, etc., etc., but that V[olney] is very angry at the lashing of our news papers lately against himself. The poet B[arlow] is translating a work of V[olney's] into English. I think you have not lately had such a budget.

I have thought so seriously of the following piece of intelligence as to mention it to the Secretary at War, to whom I was writing when the Colonel came in, viz. That when they, *i. e.* he and those with whom he associated, as B[arlow] and others, knew that serious proposals were sent out, these wrote to their friends recommending me as Minister to execute, etc., etc. I told him I had no wish and no expectation of such appointment, even if one were made, and that I was sorry I had been mentioned. I have never one moment disguised my way of thinking respecting France, and so I observed to him when he mentioned it today. But this recommendation will probably work strangely at Philadelphia, when coupled with my letters on P[ichon]'s interviews. I consider it an unlucky thing for me! It will produce a thousand surmises among politicians at such a moment. I have assured Mr. McHenry that I have never by direct or indirect means been privy to aiding or consenting to such recommendation, nor did I ever expect such a thing; and that he would do, as you will do, excuse such protestations on account of circumstances; for otherwise they would be, in spite of protestations, *indelicate!* and begged him to show my letter to Colonel P[ickering].[2]

I long to see the speech of the President. Smith writes me from Lisbon (of 23 December) that he hears up to the 10 November, and that at Newbury Port a 28 was built launched and coppered in 74

[1] Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney (1757–1820). Barlow translated "The Ruins."

[2] See Murray to McHenry, January 30, 1799, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 371.

days.[1] A Dutch gentleman the other night at the concert told me that at St. Thomas lately he saw the Delaware sloop and a 44-gun frigate as convoys; that they had taken three French privateers, one large one the swiftest vessel in those seas, and that they were the most beautiful ships and the fastest he ever saw. He spoke with almost as much pleasure as I listened. Tonight news arrived that Surinam is taken by the British! It was useless to its owners, for their good allies, by their privateers, had destroy'd all trade to it by taking every thing going in those seas! I lament to see the earnings of solid labor and the fruits of perseverance thus robbed! These people are really death to those whom they embrace! The intelligence is not official however. Always, my dear sir, yours truly, etc., etc., etc.

I am told that my worthy and enlightened friend Smith [2] at Lisbon will marry one of the Miss Bulkeleys, sister to Colonel Humphreys' wife. By the bye the other night I conversed with Mr. Valkenaar [3] just from Madrid, late Minister there. He told me he had seen Col. Humphreys, *who was a very great Poet!* and Mr. Smith, *who was a very great Orator!* W. is said to have learning and talents. I saw in him modern philosophy I thought, and know that is his hobby.[4]

From the Secretary of State.[5]

Department of State,
Philadelphia, February 1, 1799.

Sir: Mr. van Polanen lately called upon me to mention the receipt of an instruction directing him to inquire informally *whether the mediation of the Batavian government between the United States and France would be accepted by* [6] the government of the United States; adding, that *if accepted, he was to make a formal tender of that mediation.* I answered at once, that I was satisfied *it would not be accepted,* but that I would mention the matter to the President, and let him know the result. The President *did not pause for an answer in the negative. What indeed could be more farcical* (to give it a mild appellation) than *such a mediation in the known state of dependence of the Batavian on the French government?* This considered, the *proposition partakes of the nature of an insult, rather than of an act of friendship;* although the latter only was intended by our friends *the Batavians, so far as they at all expressed their own mind;* for it can hardly be imagined that *the proposition originated with them.* . . .

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[1] The Merrimack. See Currier, "History of Newburyport," 112.
[2] William Smith (1758–1812), minister to Portugal 1797–1801.
[3] Johan Valckenaer.
[4] Adams to Murray, February 2, 5, 1799, in Adams MSS.
[5] From the Pickering MSS.
[6] Cypher.

It is probable that *General Toussaint will declare the island of St. Domingo independent,* and then by a free commerce *with it,* we may receive (*and in this way only we shall receive*) *an indemnity for the immense injuries done us by France.* I am. etc.[1]

LXXXIX.

5 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen the speech of the President to Congress, 10 December. He reins the car of government between the extremes, demands *preparation* and waits for "the assurances" unmingled with recommendatory innuendos. It is strong but sweet, and there is a tranquility breathed through it that inspires confidence, and respect for the nation; for it convinces me that things are righter than they were a year since. It is enough conciliatory towards France, and gives them the opportunity of taking steps necessary to friendly intercourse. It is now with them. I am now sure that, as you said, *professions* rather than *proposals* had been sent. I have not seen the answers. Mr. King said they echo'd the speech,* that of Senate adding a severe stricture upon the interference of unauthorized individuals between the President and any foreign power, etc., etc., aiming it is believed at J[efferso]n and L[oga]n. In fair extension, The Hague might be brought within the sweep of the dividers! I show'd it to Colonel H[ichborn]; he wrote me a note liking its spirit. He likes and even approves it, but regrets no minister was sent, and is disappointed. But be sure! that the opposition will now be both against France, and also against the government. The sedition law and alien bill are their basis of uproar now, but it will not all do. That government will grow stronger every day, such is my creed. I hear that in five days *we shall have something* from Rastadt. I suppose peace or war. Portugal, or rather its neighbour, seems again threatened by the army of Portugal, which is *said* to be gathering in the south. Ehrenbreitstein surrendered! Dear sir, yours truly and always.

*This is a great thing, and in four days—for the ship sail'd the 15 or 16 December. Generally the debates on the speech took ten or fifteen days. Baldwin[2] and Milledge[3] are out for Georgia, and good men in;[4] Sumter the only opposition man from South Carolina; probably, however, some greys.[5]

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[1] Secretary of State to Murray, February 5, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Abraham Baldwin (1754–1807), raised to the Senate.

[3] John Milledge (1757–1818).

[4] James Jones (–1801), and Benjamin Taliaferro (1750–1821).

[5] The Members from South Carolina in the sixth Congress were: Robert Goodloe Harper, Benjamin Huger, Abraham Nott, Thomas Pinckney, John Rutledge, jr., and Thomas Sumter. Murray to Pickering, February 8, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

XC.

Rec. Feb. 20.
Ans. Feb. 23.

8 February, 1799.

Dear Sir: I would not send the speech to the French legation here, but I did to Mr. V[an] Goes, with some remarks pointing his mind to the scored passages, as proofs of that just and wise temper that perseveres in preparation, but with an ear open to peace on solid grounds, etc., etc. I told him it was important for both nations that mistakes should cease, and that France should have her first impressions of the spirit of the speech under such circumstances as were most favorable to a calm and just construction of it. That while he saw the unalterable determination of the government to maintain not only the rights but the honor of the nation, he would also see abundant evidence of a frank temper that held itself open to the demonstrations of justice on the part of France, and to negotiation, if cleansed of all matter justly offensive to the pride and independence of the United States. I did this, because it is probable that he will send the speech to Mr. L[ombard], or give it to him, making some remarks; for this government are excessively anxious to see *peace*, etc., etc., and he may also probably write to Mr. S[chimmelpenninck] at Paris to give a first impression, where I rather think first impressions decide a great deal. The *object* to which this small working may tend is to affect the better part of the councils, help on the proposed amendments of the prize laws, agreeable to the message of last month, and, perhaps, if the first *kink* in their heads be right, to do more. The speech is absolutely *amicable* enough. I had lamented were it more so. I told Hichborn, who likes it, that its fault was that it was below my standard, and was not high enough for my system. He goes soon to L[ondon], and thence home. I work upon him whenever I can, even sometimes with hope; sensible, however, that with his address he can let me *think so*. Dear sir, truly always yours.

The cold is again extreme, 6 only above 0 *Fahrenheit*, and no coals, nor turf, nor wood, to be bought that we can hear of. If it last a month longer, I do not know what we shall do.[1]

XCI.

12 February, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your No. 9 [January 29] came safely yesterday. I had already noticed the President's speech and the answers. They are thought here by those of the Dutch government with whom I have conversed, to be abundantly amicable for the occasion and state of

[1] Adams to Murray, February 9, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 386; February 12, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, February 12, in Pickering MSS.

things. I do not think that France can, if she is sincere in her *policy*, hesitate to give the necessary "assurances," and to decide *honestly* upon the message respecting privateers. H[ichborn], whom I have mentioned, *fears* differently. He avows to me (and has repeatedly) that "they are such damned villains that he fears they may be regardless of the national happiness and act from passion," and he then curses them from principle into practice. He is damned cunning, or there is a great change about him in his politics. Further, it seems to me that his Anti-ism is not only the result of a natural impatience under all power, but has arisen, as I have seen it before, from the frettings of little neighborhood politics, with mingled personal asperities and local rivalry with the great party principles. I trace much of this in talking with him, for I find he nine times out of ten goes to Boston and Dorchester for the location of grievances, and these are generally what was said or written there by this man or the other, in which nine times out of ten he was the object of the supposed ill nature, or high handed display of power. Such a man might I think come round, for he has great pride, and certainly, as you said, a great deal of intelligence and much subtilty in its management. As I know, or hear, that he has influence, I have labored to straighten him. The picture of the southern States and west south western states at a moment of confusion is that on which I have worked; and it *seems* to me with some effect.

In a day or two we must hear decisively from Rastadt, as the note of the last of January demanded the evacuation of Austrian dominions by the Russians in fifteen days, or war.

If Mr. G[renville] had been a French citizen, and had amused himself so much at the expense of Europe, he would amuse himself the rest of his days at Oleron. No, sir; gentlemen are not now even good couriers. But I am better within these few days and so I will not indulge in illhumor. Dear sir, I am always truly yours, etc., etc.

XCII.

15 February, 1799.

Dear Sir: The French letters say that the speech gave a good deal of satisfaction at Paris, and that the French government seem inclined to pursue peace and accommodation, is talked of. I believe, however, that these are the opinions of the discontented Americans, though I have no letters myself. They got the speech the 5th instant *via* Bordeaux.

Here every heart really sinks at the tales of distress we receive from Guelderland, and from the borders of the Rhine, and Waal, and Meuse, and Yssel—horrible scenes of perishing daily follow each other from inundations and ice! a great number of villages are laid to the tops under water! Government gives 100,000 florins for immediate aid—thousands can not, it is feared, be aided at all!

The demand that the Russians evacuate the Austrian dominions in fifteen days—*this day*—will surely ameliorate the motion of Francis.[1] In the meantime Naples has been conquered. I hear they have erected the scenery, after having, as the strolling players in England say, "*taken the town*," and a provisionary government is erected, and the farce called the *Parthenopean* republic! "Lord have mercy on us!"

Great Britain will be in a ticklish situation as to her Mediterranean affairs, for Sicily must follow. She has great cause to complain of the Emperor and of the tardy Russians, I think. I am always, my dear sir, truly, etc., etc.[2]

XCIII.

Rec. Feb. 28.
Ans. Mar. 2. 18 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: 10, 11 and 12 [February 2, 5, 9] I had the pleasure to receive at once this morning.

Private letters on which I put little dependence from Paris say that the speech gives pleasure. Their papers give however an insolent turn to it. A piece in the *L'ami de Loi*, and copy'd by the *Publiciste*, attributes the moderation of the President to the influence of the opposition, whom they represent, in consequence of private letters as they avow, to be growing stronger. An old friend Mr. Hindman, whose name you would find for five years always in the good votes, says to Mr. King that the clear majority will be twelve,[3] and I think he did not count the Georgia change. H[indman] is a good calculator and always was less sanguine than myself. The opposition will not now be about France, but, as you observe, the laws of the United States. These gentlemen forget that they themselves by their French doctrines rendered these laws necessary—inundations rendered dykes essential, and the dykes ought always to last longer than the inundation. You keep locks to your door long after a robbery has been committed in the neighborhood. In fact Sancho would be the true Solomon on such a question.

I admire the *sang froid* of high rank exceedingly in these times, and wish heartily we had more amusement here. For the length and extreme severity of this winter and the gloom of politics have really and seriously harrassed my mind and body—and we have little or no society!

I have met with the only relative of my paternal grandfather I ever saw—a Mr. Vans of your Salem.[4] He is a gentlemanly man,

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[1] Francis II of Austria.

[2] Murray to Pickering, February 16, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, February 16, in Adams MSS.

[3] Hindman to King, December 8, 1798, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 480.

[4] William Vans, United States Consul at Morlaix, France. His commission had been revoked in December, 1798. See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 394.

and such is the force of the imagination or of self-love, that though he had been classed not in our politics, yet I have had much pleasure seeing him. Let me assure you that I do not think that he ought to be classed as of the same political species with H[ichborn]. He tells me that having been robbed by the British of a large property he was concerned in a French privateer, but that not a single American was taken nor injured by him; and that immediately as the treaty with Great Britain was made, he disengaged himself from this sort of business. He was solicitous upon this head. H[ichborn] I like less and less. I find him pliant in opinion, but still with dangerous and fretful principles, working up constantly notwithstanding his address and his politeness towards the *minister* of the United States. But be assured that he neither can do service by support, nor harm by opposition. I doubt whether the men of parts in his party would employ him except as a mere trumpet, and I doubt if even in that way his opinions would have any influence! I rather think he has worked, talked, and written himself, out of confidence all round the compass. I am almost sorry to have wasted powder upon him, but independent of an object in getting him round I really wished to converse with a countryman—no matter who.

Day before yesterday must have decided the question of peace or war, as the fifteen days on the retreat of the Russians then ended. Daendels went to Paris eight days since, it is believed to divert France from the demand of obliging the Dutch fleet at Texel to go on some expedition. It is certain a great quantity of provisions and arms are made—hardly for Ireland I think. Where then? Dear sir, always most truly yours.

XCIV.

Rec. Mar. 3.

Ans. Mar. 5. 22d February, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your 13 [February 12] arrived safely, day before yesterday. Our minds here are occupy'd by the mournful accounts of the insurrections in Gulderland and on the Rhine, Leck, Waal and Meuse generally! Very tragical scenes have taken place there.

Daendels has not returned. I told you that he was gone, it was understood to Paris to divert the French government from its intention of obliging their fleet to turn out again on some secret expedition; or, if he failed in that, to concert the operation as advantageously for his country as possible. So we *believe*, and it is probable; but we can not certainly know.

Curious letters arrive here almost daily from Venice, and Ancona, and Leghorn, stating the total defeat of the French before Capua by the king in person, etc., etc., etc.!—of the 25 January. With you I believe that *France* is mistress of Naples, but I also think that like a prudent mistress she keeps out of her house while her maids are

fighting with hot scalding water; for certainly something like a very alarming anarchy prevails in Naples, and I do not think that the French have dared to trust themselves in the city yet. Liberty has usually entered into her cities to the chime of bells and the jingle of gold and silver purses; but these youngest children of her family, the Lazzaronis,[1] seem determined to try the disinterestedness of the French by first pillaging the rich and leaving nothing for the liberators. However we really know less of what is passing and has past in Italy since 1 December than of any of the tragedies which *France* has acted so often.

As yet I hear not from America. The French do my friend Harper great honor in triumphing so loudly over his supposed defeat. Harper has talents and worth enough to merit their calumnies. Is it not hard to have had an insinuation of their approbation on any occasion for seven years past?

Mr. G[renville] has done what he ought to have done or not accepted the post of danger—risked his life, pity he had not done it five weeks since. I envy you the possession of two such acquaintances as A. and L.[2] They must be a prize! I know I should so consider them if here—for indeed, my dear sir, I am famished here—so long used as I was to the society of able and amiable men at Philadelphia!

Col. H[ichborn] has set off from Amsterdam I learn for *Ancona*. A young Mr. Higginson[3] of Paris was with me on day before yesterday. I received him very coldly, having heard that, though his father is a good man, he has been probably interested in privateers against us, and was certainly a warm opposition man. We soon differed widely, and he took his leave. Since, I learn that he was about a month in Boston last summer, but confest that he found it too hot for him, and he came away. I mention this for the closing remark as it is a good symptom. And really I know nothing but small symptoms relative to the United States, having not heard a long time. Fair speed your carnivals, plays, etc., etc. What a gay man you are. We change dresses absolutely. Yours, dear sir, always.

XCV.

February 26, 1799.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 16th instant [No. 14] reached me yesterday. Except one post I have written every post to you and this must *be 14*. I am anxious to know if they arrived. It is probable that obstructions of ice retarded them, and I hope you will get them in a body as I did your 11, 12, 13.

We have nothing yet from Rastadt, nor from Daendels. The fleet here is ready, seven of the line, some transports, and 6,000 men,

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[1] Those who favored the King of Naples.

[2] Livingston and Charles Arbuthnot (1767–1850), in Grenville's suite.

[3] John, a son of Stephen Higginson, and nephew of George Cabot.

Dutch, chiefly. Some think that Hamburgh is their object—which appears to me highly unlikely.

What report is it I have from Hamburgh about the King of P[russia] being *poisoned!* Or did it arise from some blundering Englishman, present at your quadrille, who may have mistaken it for the scene of the player-men in Hamlet? Alas! these high gentry need not make royalty a drama. The *dramatis personae* appear already to be fictitious characters, permitted to "strut their short hour on the stage," by an impatient audience. However, would that the corps had an amusement here so high seasoned! But we have nothing like it. The fine weather has in some measure set me above society, by enabling me to use my own limbs and enjoy severe exercise, and I look back upon the blue devils of this hard winter as on a dream. For these there is no cure but "to doff the world," as you prescribed, which I did and was better; but I never have hippo except when extreme cold produces by long duration a constriction upon my nerves. Then, if I can get a good warm bath, I am a man again. Here there was no such convenience. You see, my dear sir, that I confess to you some of my infirmities, and you are entitled to them as you so kindly took a share in my complainings.

The letter of marque at the Texel I hear (she arrived five weeks since) beat off a Frenchman who attacked her. A Mr. Rand of Boston, I think, is supercargo. I have invited him to come to see me, as I hear he is a clever and a gallant fellow. It will be perfectly refreshing to hear the tone of sincere federalism after the semi-tunes of H[ichborn] and sentiments always doubtful! My dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

A report is here that the Porte will be hostile to this republic also! Poor things. Great alliances are often ruinous to the weak! and it is *said* that Brune will go as minister of war.

XCVI.

Rec. Mar. 8.
Ans. Mar. 9. 1 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: La Fayette has arrived in this country. He and his family are now at Vianen near Utrecht—Madame Mauberg (his daughter) and husband having been there some months. Madame LaF. went to Paris and returned this way last autumn, but stopped at Vianen when Madame M. was ready to go to bed. Yesterday I got a letter from Genl. LaF[ayette] dated Vianen, telling me of his arrival and of the delivery of Madame M. of twins, girls, one died immediately. He wishes to come to the Hague to see me. Why he ventured as far as V[ianen] I am yet ignorant, but he must not come here. I gave him a hint yesterday, and last night's chat with certain people convinced me that I had not been too timid for him; so I will write again, expressly informing him that he will probably be arrested if he come here! How perfectly impenetrable to experience are most

of the emigrants I know! LaF[ayette] wrote to Mr. Lombard here, notifying his arrival. L[ombard] cannot and, I hear, is not to, answer his letter. They would wish to shut their eyes towards him, and I believe will regret if by forcing their public attention, he should put it out of their power to be ignorant of what they think their duty. F[ayette] writes to me very affectionately about America, however; it is natural for him to wish for a position for each of his legs—both F[rance] and A[merica], for I believe that his great pining is to return to the bosom of *France* and his church in esse! Madame LaF[ayette] and his son are to make us a visit immediately. He wishes to embark, he says, from a port in this country for the United States this spring.

A day or two since I saw a manuscript copy of a paper purporting to be a note 16 January last from the Porte to the Minister[1] of this republic there, ordering him away in a week; because they say though they have always had a great friendship for the Dutch, yet as these are now rather the subjects than the allies of France, and all their means of offence entirely at the call of France with whom they are at war, they will not suffer any intercourse with the Dutch, nor him (Mr. Dedem) to reside there, till the Dutch regain their independence. I believe the note is genuine. It is here, however, a secret. Frost and bad roads were the excuse on the delay of the answer to the pinching note of 31 January, and a decade more was given I see. That expired 25 ulto., but we do not hear yet of the answer nor of the measures.

Some think that the fleet here and 15,000 men are for Hamburgh, where it is believed the patriots are as numerous as the lower artists and mechanics. How is the Duke of Deux Ponts[2] affected towards P[russia]? for the death of the old Elector of Bavaria[3] will stir up an abundance of those politicians who are exactly a match for such a dispute and profound ease and title hunters. However I am again growing scurrilous. Zealand was, I hear, stript of the French troops; but lo! in a few days a greater number appeared, young conscripts, unclad, etc., etc., etc. *Vid.* Falstaff's recruits and their regimentals. This has produced great sensation here, the poor rich Bataves! They do pay, that is true! I rejoice that so worthy a nation is rich enough to pay for quiet. Still I think a mystery hangs over the Lazzaroni warriors which, if uncurtained, would show that these affairs have cost France thousands of men.

Tuesday the 4th I have a modest dinner for the official day of our President. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.

Two ships I hear arrived night before last at Rotterdam or Helvoet. The *Ocean* of Baltimore is one. As yet I hear not a word.[4]

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[1] The elder Dedem, father of Dedem mentioned, p. 423, *supra*.

[2] Maximilian IV Joseph of Zweibrücken. Adams to Murray, March 2, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 393.

[3] Charles Theodore (1724–1799.)

[4] Adams to Murray, February 23 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 392.

XCVII.

Rec. Mar. 11.

Ans. Mar. 12. 4 FEBRUARY [MARCH], 1799.

DEAR SIR: Some time since a project was introduced into the legislature here for the organization of a sort of national guard. It was a *compliance*. Many considered it as *conscription*, and it made some sensation. Nothing is now heard of it; it will probably sleep. They are now on the judiciary, and are not a little puzzled to find clearly the agency and business of *justices of the peace*. I recommend Blackstone and Burn,[1] at the same time telling them that to have a good idea of them a knowledge of the laws and customs of England is necessary. This plan, which an audacious aspiring at perfection has led so many into, from which results the idea of reducing every duty and function into written limits, will not do. No Committee on earth could in ten years, I think, digest with precision a *code* of laws which would suit the present rights of society on points of property. Yet the new philosophy is for ever blundering into that way of proceeding. Here, where each little subdivision of the territory had its usages and laws, many different from others, it will be a Herculean labor.

Nothing yet from Daendels, nor from Rastadt. Thank god! the inundation has past, and not a great many lives lost, but immense loss of property.

We have a report that young Dupont sets off for the United States soon, I know not for what. My fear constantly [is] that France will while away our time, catching at every symptom of discord among us, and that she will be more easy now whether she arrange or not, since the H[ouse] of Representatives have renounced all idea of foreign aid. I now rather regret that declaration. Even admitting it to be a sound principle, I think they need not have avow'd it; because the fear that we would form an alliance with Great Britain was, I suspect, among the greatest which France felt. Will she not, now, be easy on that head? Whatever had been the real intention of our government, perhaps they ought to have even kept up that idea, "*that they would ally*," if France did not do us justice—as making part of our strength. However, the whole business is inscrutable to me—certain though, that she will vary her means as we vary ours, and certain too, that the motion of Col. Taylor[2] who is believe me a perfect visionary, I know him—will work great mischief, by affording her infernal plan of dividing by our own means.

Two ships have got safe to Helvoet—the *Ocean* from Norfolk, and the *Polly* of Philadelphia. Nothing for me. A ship arrived night before last at the Texel from Boston. As yet I hear nothing, nor do

[1] Richard Burn (1709-1785), author of "The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer," first published in two thin volumes in 1755, and in its twenty-ninth edition in 1845, in six thick closely printed volumes of about 1200 pages each.

[2] John Taylor of Caroline (1750-1824).

I know of anything that passes in the United States except by the French papers!

Last post gave me nothing from you, my dear sir. I am always most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

XCVIII.

8 February [March], 1799.

Dear Sir: Your 15 [February 23] safe. Still we have nothing definitive of peace or war from Rastadt, though the Haarlem *Gazette* yesterday assured us of a general peace, on the authority of a letter from Middleburgh in Zealand. A blundering English merchant once in General W[ashington]'s drawing room, after much silent embarrassment about what sort of compliment he should make, finished his doubts by assuring him that, nothwithstanding the virulent abuse of the Jacobins, his reputation was as high in England as ever, "for, sir, I have just received letters from *Manchester* that say so! !" Would that the Haarlem *Gazette* had as much truth, notwithstanding the *sinking*, as the worthy Englishman had.

The little lenitives which I see prescribed by a great physician with you, respecting the public health, in forbidding the pulling off the *hat* in the open air, etc., etc., etc., are alarming, very much so; poor Lewis had the same philosophical indifference to respect!

It is unfortunate that the value of such a lesson as Naples is in part lost to the present governments which yet a little while remain. From the mystery that involves a thousand details, all that we have is but a flash of lighting in shipwreck at night that shows the ruin without letting us contemplate the exact rocks, etc., etc., that produced it. Perhaps treason and infamy were never more artfully combined. The People! the sovereign People, butchered, and disarmed, chained, chateau'd, and gagged into Liberty! Poor People, betray'd by the gentry, what can they do? And deserted by their head! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

D[aendels] did not go, it is asserted *now*, to Paris about the fleet to Paris, nor is it for Hamburgh.[2]

XCIX.

Rec. Mar. 19.
Ans. Mar. 19. 12 March, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your 16 [March 2] came safe.

Havart of Rotterdam sent me a Philadelphia paper yesterday of 15 January, containing Mr. Pinckney's[3] speech on what I presume

[1] Adams to Murray, March 5, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 394; Secretary of State to Murray, March 6, in Pickering MSS. (Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 243. On the MS. the last clause was added by the President.)

[2] Adams to Murray, March 9, 12, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[3] Charles Pinckney (1758–1824).

is a bill to prevent the usurpation of executive power in relation to negotiation with foreign powers—Logan's case. Mr. P[inckney] disapproves exceedingly of such conduct, but confesses himself personally under obligations to the gentleman (I presume sweet Doctor Logan!) I can by some pumping and working of my fancy find out the temper of mind that leads a lovesick green girl to sing the song "I pardon the treason the traitor's so dear"! but for a bearded politician in speaking of the very man who rendered a penal law necessary, to be a subject of thanks! I can not skin fleas. I doubt if they have got hold of my intention to search this emissary of sedition, else I should not wonder at an impeachment proposed: and I assure you in the gloom of this dreadful winter that has crossed my mind. In the same paper I see that some plea, strong enough to dismiss the impeachment against Blount, has been admitted by the Senate and proceeded on in the House as ground of dismissal. One pleasing symptom in the advertisements of ships; many ships, brigs and schooners, are advertised for freight to the Islands, and even to Georgia and to Europe; as well [as] armed ships with so many men, from 10 to 16 guns, some coppered! What a picture compared with this time last year!

The French have crossed the Rhine, and doubtless you have seen the note at Rastadt and Jourdan's[1] proclamation on this subject. Manheim is in their possession, and Philipsbourg has received an invitation to surrender itself "*into their safe keeping.*" How modest. I am always and affectionately yours, etc., etc., etc.

Madame La Fayette and family breakfasted with us the other day. I understand that *some* of the French government have recommended to La Fayette to go to the United States as mediator; but he demands first, *what will you promise to do* in good faith? And I hear from Paris that Barlow and Skipwith have addressed a letter to the Directory, recommending to send out a man who had manifested republican sentiments before the revolution. I go on Friday to see M. La Fayette to Utrecht. I *may* hear more, and certainly I think he had best keep himself quiet if he has sense to know when he is well.

C.

Rec. Mar. 22.
Ans. Mar. 23. 14 March, 1799.

Your 17 [March 5], my dear sir, came yesterday, and I attribute the irregularity of the post to the roads and inundations. As to H[ichborn] I never wish to see him again, and never did cultivate him; he did me, and during the deathlike silence of my room while he was here this winter, the voice of a talking man was refreshing to me. Besides, considering his uninvited declaration of hostility

[1] Jean-Baptiste Jourdan (1762–1833).

against France, and a supposed influence in his party, and that he was to go home soon, really I was dupe enough to my own vanity to think that I might be able to send back a propagandist of better doctrines. But the more I saw of him the more difficult I found it to know him, and the more it appeared to me that it was impossible, because his understanding seems to take objects like squinting eyes, obliquely. As to my *cousin*, of a family more ancient than Adam's, I confess I am weak in that point. I am a little familify'd, not in the vulgar sense of aristocracy, of better; but from the novelty and certainty of relationship on a part of my family of whom I knew but *one* circumstance—the tie, the name, and place, and time. Politics, of whose gloom I was sick, yielded to this new, perhaps childish, pleasure. You see my egotism; but you will see also that I hold it to be a sound doctrine, for public men to distinguish between the black, the white, the good and the bad, and to account for it if they depart from that rule. Often however I believe I am below that energy either of body or mind that enables men of happier organization to keep full breasted up to the line laid down by rule—not as to rectitude, I hope, but to manners!

Bernadotte's [1] proclamation is condemned here by some of the French *"as too much like Mack's"*. Jourdan's is in the true style of the Luxemburgh declamation; it will sharpen the Russian's sabre. Their positions are truly formidable—Bernadotte's army of observation, Jourdan's probably better than even the Rhine, in the *Wurtemburg's strong posts!* Messéna's [2] down to Bâle and up to Constance! However, the power within the circle ought to be greater than that which is on it. Some Dutch troops, 4 or 5000, and two demi-brigades French, go, I believe, to Bernadotte—probably in lieu of the fleet. Nelson has not returned that we hear of with the Russians for Italy. I believe he certainly went in scout of the same. Should things be internally sound in the Austrian troops, and the Russians come in full contact, I still hope, and do not think that the patient is so low but she may be got once more on her legs. For the game once begun, we may expect to see all Italy and Belgium co-operating—traitors better known than before, and a rising of the popular spirit, if there be such a thing in Europe! against, instead of for them! On the contrary what I hear of Suabia, particularly of the Duke of W[urtemburg]'s [3] states would lead me to expect, if there be either timidity or treason in the A[ustrian] army, one or two trans-Rhenine republics.

I hear not from the United States. In my last I told you of a debate on the bill to repress the usurpation of executive power rela-

[1] Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, later Charles XIV of Sweden (1763–1844).
[2] André Masséna (1756–1817).
[3] Frederick II (1754–1816).

tively towards foreign governments, having in view my old friend Logan, on whose affair I confess to you I now feel lucky. For his jaunt is not personally to himself and his own *views* criminal in the eyes of some, who even support the bill!

I write *today*, because tomorrow morning early I set off for Utrecht to meet La Fayette and family. By the *paper* of which I spoke in my last I see that the arrival of your brother Mr. T. B. Adams is announced in a very cordial manner at New York—forty odd days. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

CI.

Rec. Mar. 25.
Ans. Mar. 26. 19 March, 1799.

Dear Sir: Yours of 9th [No. 18] I got yesterday evening on my return from Utrecht, where I saw La Fayette and family. He had pressed me to give him a meeting and I suspected if I did not go, he would come here, and then if General Brune or Mr. Lombard had moved against him for so public an appearance, I should have been embarrrassed. Citizen of the United States—I found in Talon's[2] case was very troublesome. La F[ayette] is young in look and healthy, but what I did least expect he is cheerful. He uninvited announces his attachment "to Liberty," as it is called, but what exceeded even the pictures of imaginary perseverance is, that he still, I believe, wishes to be instrumental in curing political evils—ameliorating mankind!! Lord have mercy upon me!! While he talked I could thus, indeed naturally and unaffectedly, at every pause he made have said the litany through, "Lord have mercy upon us!" (Mrs. Adams will have the goodness to tell you where that is!) I seemed to be at Valladolid with Sangrado—"It is indeed true my dear Gil Blas that all my prescriptions have brought people to their graves, and I should change my principles and practise; but I have written a book to support them! Perish all the nobility and citizens first!" He is more in frame of mind like an ingenuous Virginian of little experience and much metaphysical reading than any European I ever saw. It is lamentable, for he seems to me really governed by a most insatiable thirst after honesty and good intentions, and is certainly generous and amiable.

Entre nous he was written to, *to be sounded* by Dupont de N[emours], recommending him to go to the United States, and incline us to terms. He answered that as an honest man and real friend of the United States he could do nothing there, because he saw no solid ground for the fulfilment of any promise they might make to the United States. I had abundance of talk with him on this point, stating the odium which would be brought on him if he interfered. I stated various

[1] Adams to Murray, March 16, 19, 1799, in Adams MSS. [2] Antoine-Omer Talon (1760–1811).

things to disincline him from going to the United States, but he is fixed; he will go in June. I then told him of the arts that would be used to entangle him against government, by a set of men who had not been his friends when he was seized, but who considered him as having deserted the cause of republicanism, etc., etc. He loves General Washington, and Hamilton, and my friend McHenry. The French officers at Utrecht, etc., cultivate him even affectionately. He does not wish to be erased from the list of *emigrés*, I believe. So much, my dear sir, for a man of whom I had heard so much.

Well, the very awful scene has at last opened, and victory, who always goes with him who rises early, had declared for the French in the pays de grisors. The French say that the true declaration of war ought to be dated from the not-happening of the condition, the answer on 15 February on the march of the Russians, on which peace should continue!

Zealand is a little disturbed. Some liberty trees have been cut down, and there is some fear that these folks may imitate their neighbors. The Suabian republic I presume will follow the Tuscan! I do not hear from the United States, but am told that the Secretary of the Navy proposes twelve of the line, and that a trade will be opened with St. Domingo in a bargain with Toussaint. Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

I this moment, ten minutes before twelve, get yours—No. 19 [March 12]. Yes, I believe that both fleet and army will be vigorously used here, and there is reason to expect a sort of conscription for 8000, to make up the 30,000 which I hear is *expected* of them. A few thousand and 5000 French will march to the army *of observation* in a few days. Some French here go immediately! As to your treaty, I hope it will not be finished this year!

CII.

Rec. Mar. 28.
Ans. Mar. 30. 22 March, 1799.

Dear Sir: In a piece of a news paper sent me in February with the President's speech, I saw what purported to be Taylor's motion. It was on my recollection in truth the alarum bell against the government of the United States, calling on all the sister states to be vigilant in support of their rights, and was aimed against the sedition law and I think the alien law also. Kentucky, I since hear, has echo'd this nonsense, and even published something, I hear not correctly what, about the *sovereignty* of each state. I just hear also, from Paris as American news, that Maryland and *Tennessee!* Yes, Tennessee, have taken the lead in voting out the proposed missive from the ancient dominion with very little respect. The same will happen eastward, and I hope in South Carolina. This time two years the

same game was attempted by poor Virginia about the *treaty powers* of the House of Representatives, etc., etc. Their resolution was treated as it merited by Maryland, Massachusetts, and other states—with ridicule and immediate defeat. I too have lamented that John Marshall, after such a mission particularly, should lend himself thus against a law which the French Jacobinism in the United States had forced government to adopt. M[arshall] *before*, was not, that we ever heard of, one of us. General P[inckney], too, had been pretty much of the other side and his friends. He had, while here, to my eyes, often the remaining traits of the *state* politician, and ways of thinking which might make a man a great favourite with a military regiment filled with local politics. I hope we should not now differ as much as we used to do on some points of federal doctrines. I hope he is cured. I have, however, known but few men who were well made up in their United States politics who had not been in Congress for some time, and in the federal party.

With respect to foreign aid, were we actually in the contest without a previous arrangement for stipulated aid, and Great Britain unbound as to the option of peace independent of us, I believe that we should in one year be the sport of every rumor from Europe respecting proposed peace between Great Britain and France, our government harrassed and thwarted, and our state of things, *not war* completely. If in such a state of things we sought aid, we could not expect to get it on as good terms as before war commenced. Before such an idea, however, can be reasoned on, the public mind and government ought to decide whether they will have war, if they cannot [have] a safe peace and justice in such or such a time. But it does seem to me at present very important not to decry the idea of alliance even, but to leave that resource free to the sound policy and exigency of the time to come, of which we now can not form any certain calculation.

Since Monday I am very busy on the armed Brig *Mary* [1] (Parson's and Higginson's vessel) of Boston, an 8 gun letter of marque. She drove off a French robber off Goeree by 5 shot, approached the battery of Ondorp in Goeree, came to anchor, the privateer a stern. Captain Hall went on shore to the fort, show'd his papers to the commander, who kept them, and arrested the brig, put eight of her men on board the privateer, and sent her to Helvoet roads. I apply'd to government. They cleared her of her French banditti, but said she must remain under the guard of the man-of-war, together with the privateer, till it was decided whether she or the privateer *attacked* first in limits. I have required that the order of the commandant [2] at Ondorp be inquired into, and that he be pun-

[1] Captain Hall. In the Pickering MSS. are copies of Murray's correspondence with the Batavian government on this vessel.

[2] A Frenchman, and not under the control of the Marine Department.

ished for the insult in putting on board a French crew, etc., etc.; and Lombard has got hold of the case, and I hear is much affected at the tenor of the *commission*, which is to take French armed vessels, etc., etc. He either is, or pretends to be, unacquainted with the last law of July on this point. I hope to get the *Mary* up to Rotterdam in a few days, government here certainly being perfectly well *inclined*. At first the rumor was that the *Mary* was a prize to the French privateer. She was claimed by the ignorant little consul of Rotterdam as such, but government assure me that she is not in any possibility to be so considered, but is detained on the *infraction* charge, on which she is not guilty. Spoors the Minister of Marine, a man hated by *France* and her tribe, is a very good minister and a man of energy. But, my dear sir, I did not get a line from any one of the *Mary* till yesterday, an unsigned copy from the log book (*I suppose of the Mary*), and have been left to go pretty much by report ever since the 14 inst., when I first addressed government claiming the ship! There is a serious defect in the laws respecting the duties of captains. Government ought to appoint agents at the ports to whom captains should be obliged to give instant and authentic intelligence respecting all such accidents or things, and then the Minister would not write memoirs at hazard!

It is said from America (so the merchants letters say, who get news always a month before me) that Toussaint's agent will succeed probably in opening an intercourse with St. Domingo. I hope not, as it is our principal hold. That money is flush in all the banks, that twelve ships of the line are proposed by the Secretary of the Navy, that East India trade is immense, that five million dollars are to be loaned in the United States at 8 per centum. But I receive not a line, not a paper.

French troops, 4000, will go hence in a few days, and 8 or 10,000 I believe of Dutch. French conscripts come in daily.

Dear sir, truly always yours.[1]

CIII.

Rec. April 1.
Ans. April 2. 26 March, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your 21 came yesterday. If I had not felt so malicious a pleasure in reading Barlow's, the poet's, letter,[2] I had had a right to thank you for the Boston paper of December. It is very important that such gentry should write and show themselves. They not only discover their own contemptible characters, but also show what their masters are in Paris. They show too what their party in the United States are. Did I not suppose that you and I agreed certainly

[1] Adams to Murray, March 23, 1799, in Adams MSS.; March 26, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 396. Murray to Pickering, March 24, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Dated March 1, 1798, and written to his brother-in-law, Abraham Baldwin, member of Congress from Georgia.

and substantially on the great highroad of political opinions, we would soon cease to write, or write coldly. This precious fellow has been an agent of the United States; yet he talks contemptuously of "your government," and sending "Mun[roe] to the United States." Rarely if ever is it proper to promote or assist in any way a public scribbler—an author! The arrogance of that irritable race is unconquerable, is not to be softened by favours or patting. Like the toad the more you caress and pat the animal, the more he puffs and swells. Nine times out of ten he is a tyrant, and a deadly one, from the moment that he feels sensible of POWER—i. e. when the public show a respect for his opinions. He then attributes every favour to FEAR, and 99 out of a 100 are prepared for ingratitude and resentment, if favor and submission to their POWER, the right which they think MIND has over matter, be not increased in proportion as their vanity increases. Boswell was the only author or book publisher I ever could relish or like as man or gentleman that I knew in London of that tribe, and they are alike all over the world. Fabricius's dinner in Gil Blas and the Dunciad are correct pictures of that family of men, and the history of the last ten years is a comment upon their active agency in the great business of society. They and the great body of pedagogues ought to remain where children are, or where printers chuse to employ them as artists. Doubtless there are exceptions. Burke will illustrate one class of the excepted, Godwin will do to show what I mean by the sort of beings of which I take Joel Barlow to be one! Young Gear was with me day before yesterday. His good spirits and American talk and his anecdotes refreshed me much. He has the praise of having written the address of the Boston youth to your father.

The proclamation of Prussia relative to Cleves and the P[russian] property there seems indicative, and Baron Haugwitz's[1] retreat from office seems so also. On the other side, we hear much of P[russia]'s taking part with F[rance]! I do not think so.

The action of the 7 was against the Austrians, but that of the 8 for them, in the Grisons country. I am not so much inclined to croak as I was. I expect handsome things from the Arch Duke[2] and the Russians.

Five British frigates off Schevelling [Scheveningen] carry'd all the world down on Sunday to see them. They went south. The preparation is very active at Texel and Amsterdam in the shipping way; and we hear of flat-bottomed vessels. They will not I think find a wind fair enough. The British increase at Texel. The French will try to call in their privateers, as they want men to man the fleet—*vide* the letter of the Minister of Marine in the *Moniteur* lately.

[1] Christian August Heinrich Kurt Haugwitz (1752–1831). He did not retire from office until 1804.
[2] Karl Ludwig (1771–1847).

Ireland I should suppose was their object. The *Mary* of which I spoke, I suppose is free by this time and up at Rotterdam, as government assured me they would give the order for her release on security for the *infraction*, if any be proved. None can be proved. They acted as well as they could do! Dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

I hear that London papers with American news up to 1 February say that six ships of the line are voted and money for them; that the banks flourish beyond former periods and that the spirit is high and decided.

When was any *armed opposition* as mentioned by Harper to the sedition law? If there be, it will only tend to confirm by practice the sound principles of government against anarchy.[1]

CIV.

29 March, 1799.

Dear Sir: I fear that I have more talent for complaining than for compliment, or I would try to do justice to the Austrians whose supineness I have all winter railed at. They have done handsome things, and I expect even great events in their favor. I do not say that the first blow is half the battle as applicable to a whole campaign; but I do think, that, in the state of the public mind of all the continent, broken and dejected, and imposed on to credulity and superstitious cowardice respecting a supposed superiority of French force, the first rencontre in Suabia being against Jourdan,[2] and even a handsome check, the effect of this is worth half a dozen victories in that state of despair which would have seized the continent, had Jourdan pushed on and driven or defeated the Archduke in the first rencontres. We hear that this boaster, so far from dashing forward to the gates of Vienna, has filed off to the right in an angle so sharp as to permit one to call it a retreat to Schaffhausen. Some great loss if not defeat it is believed here has been received by Masséna also in Switzerland. Though the rumor of the Austrians being within eight leagues of Strasburgh on the 16th was false, yet the hasty speech of the commander, the preparations and the consternation, prove that some great reverses had been known to them, and that they were prepared to believe terrible things by what had lately passed. Should the Russians co-operate in Italy near Naples, I do think, my dear sir, that we might live to see the tide turn, and the despaired of patient shake off his leprosy scales and in time on his legs once more! I doubt if our friends here will send their troops out of this country, as we expect it possible for P[russia] to declare on the coalition against F! Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

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[1] Murray to Pickering, March 27, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

[2] At Stockach, March 25.

Citizen Galdy,[1] *Minister Plenipotentiary* from Cisalpine has lately arrived with his lady. Grasveldt, brother-in-law to Daendels, goes to Milan; young *Coque, secretary;* Valckenaer goes to Madrid as ambassador, and the Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. Van Kouthon,[2] Secretary of Embassy.[3]

CV.

Rec. April 7.
Ans. April 9. 1 April, 1799.

Dear Sir: Yesterday I got a letter from John Marshall of 18 December, dated Richmond—short, to cover two for Mr. Sykes, Palais Royal, Paris, on private business. It was open. He says he never saw such intemperance as existed in the V[irginia] Assembly. Speaks of the resolution against the alien and sedition laws as evils—"he *fears* they will be carry'd." He says "The federal, or what is the same thing the American, party gains ground in the elections for the national legislature, except in Jersey and Maryland." I lament that miserable sop to the intoxicated spirit of popularity—the address of which you speak—but which "of course" I have not seen. My dear sir, I see nothing except fragments in the *Frankfort* and *Bas Rhine* papers! How can I, when I gave up all correspondents last spring, almost *every* one? I attribute this long interval to *interruptions* and *takings*—but so it is. Count Byland[4] of our Society lent me last night a manuscript extract of the state of our navy as reported not long since. It was a cheering sight, and makes more impression than all Vattel, or even Grotius the true Batave. Bourne has letters from Paris, assuring, as if his friend could know such a thing, that they are resolved to offer to treat in a third neutral place with the Minister of the United States. I have begged his absolute silence towards his American correspondents on this point. La F[ayette] told me that young Dupont was to go to Philadelphia, and I understood him to mean, for the purpose of speaking to the President from the Directory. It was in this conversation that I freely told him that it would be an odious thing in either him (LaF) or me to intermeddle in any shape; that the public course was open to the Directory, etc., etc., etc. They are, however, I think determined to abridge the license of their pirates. Among other reasons for so thinking, I saw today (confidentially) an official letter from the Vice Commissary of French Marine at Flushing just now, addressed to the Vice Commissary of Marine at the ports here, saying, that by command of the Minister of Marine he enjoined on them to take away the commission of any privateer that took any neutral vessel within limits. This has certainly also a relation to the *firmer* conduct of this

[1] Matthieu Galdi (–1821).
[2] Theodorus Van Kooten.
[3] Adams to Murray, March 30, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 398.
[4] Christian, count Bylandt.

government since 12 August, and also to the plan of recruiting their navy, this government having seized and confiscated two French privateers since 12 August regulations (they will be sold this month at auction). In fact their commerce and that of their allies, *all* of them, is annihilated, particularly their own, and they find perhaps one maxim useful in that mountain of rubbish of which they have made morals and religion, that honesty is the most cunning and wise *policy* that man can imagine.

I *do* think that Austria will keep her legs. As yet Jourdan has not done anything but waver about. In his army are some weak points, owing I hear to the *maladministration* of it, or rather carelessness. The war is now less a war of opinions and sentiment, and more of means organised in the usual way. *Irruptions* now will not do. Italy is no proof against this *bold* doctrine; one can prove nothing from such a set, but that they are fit for an infallible Pope—and he for them! What will the most amiable king do more than *make* a proclamation about his vendued domains in Cleves, etc., etc.? Our unhappy and unarmed captains have been in the regular custom of entering PROTESTS against the French piracy and sales of plunder.

On the whole, my dear sir, I do begin to feel a little life from the opening scene. While there was no motion I despaired; but now there is a mode of action opened by which I think the question will come fairly, or more so, before the PASSIONS of the continent I hope.

Two ships have just come in, one from Mr. Codman[1] of Boston *unarmed*, but safe, in I think 33 days; the other from Philadelphia, I hear. As yet I have nothing. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

Your No. 23 [March 26] is safe.[2]

CVI.

Rec. April 11.
Ans. April 13. 5 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have been within a day or two extremely gratify'd by some irregular Boston and N[Y?] papers up to 22 February by a Mr. Wm. Tudor, Junr.[3] In all, except an *Aurora* and a Greenleaf's, I find bold clear expression with government and sound principles, and a spirit of defiance against the Jacobins that leads me to believe that, though they are noisy, they feel and know that they are low in the public confidence. Above all I was pleased with the resolutions of the Pennsylvania *H[ouse] of Representatives*—mind not Senate—that would be to be *expected* against the Kentucky resolutions which declare the alien and sedition laws VOID. These resolutions trim the transmontane politics and are excellent. Delaware also declares spiritedly against them as a subject unfit for discussion. There is a

[1] John or Stephen Codman.
[2] Adams to Murray, April 2, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 400: Murray to Pickering, April 5, in Pickering MSS.
[3] 1779–1830.

long and able piece of irresistible argument from the minority of the Virginia Assembly (58), addressed to the citizens against the intemperate resolutions of that legislature against these laws. It is one of the best pieces I have ever read of that sort of writing, and must indeed have its effect. As I write I have your kind favor No. 24 [March 30]. Thank you for Logan's bit of vindication.[1] I have not time to read it or your letter, as a fever which I have had for some days off and on had kept me in bed *this morning* till this moment, and the post goes in fifteen minutes. I am better. . . .

I saw in one of the papers which I mentioned a hint about *armed opposition*, but I doubt it. The minority are too strong in Virginia, and Tennessee is *right*.

My Austrians you see have got on their legs again and actions very honorable to the patient daily happen, you must confess. Do it with a good grace, and acknowledge that we may hope a little. As to the United States! My dear friend and old one, I HAVE NO FEARS, all will strengthen good principles and knit the ligatures of the Constitution better, better round government, and the nation round both! Yours, my dear sir, most truly.

I should think that John Marshall wrote the address against the resolutions [of] V[irginia]. He may have been weak enough to declare *against* those laws that *might* be against the *policy* or necessity, etc., etc., etc., yet sustain their constitutionality. Hichborn told me that Gouv[erneur] Morris declared he would oppose in courts those laws as unconstitutional. He may not have read them; he had not thought deeply of them. I *hope* that J. Marshall did write the address.[2]

CVII.

Rec. April 18.

Ans. April 20. 12 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 24 and 25 came safely, but I was too sick (indeed in bed) to acknowledge them by the last post. Bile, slight vomiting, fever or something very like ague also, except part of June, July, August, and a few days of September. Indeed this climate is hideous and destructive. Poor Mrs. M[urray] feels its baneful effects on her delicate frame even more sensibly than I do. However one feels less these personal inconveniences when such days as 25 March are heard of! And when these appear symptoms of courage that will restore much of the lost qualities of the continent in diminishing that political cowardice which has preceded the loss of personal bravery.

Jourdan you will perceive is not at the gates of Vienna, but actually at the gates of Strasburgh (so the *Publiciste* says), and his army a

[1] "Memoir of Dr. George Logan," 89.

[2] Adams to Murray, April 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.; April 9, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 402; Murray to John Adams, April 7, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, April 8, in Pickering MSS.

few miles from them also—*on the defensive*. The Arch Duke's victories in my mind have decided the political character of this summer. Even if hereafter should the French army be recruited, he should be driven more than Jourdan has been. The charm that so mysteriously bound down the will, mind and body of the continent will have been broken; men of balancing politics between fidelity and eventual treason, will have some chance of success in being faithful. The right road will appear in fact to be the safest, if they will but fight, and they will have shown that they can fight as well as the French. I have not a doubt but that there are in every court on the continent hundreds of gentlemen, rather sickly in their honor and fidelity, who will have been restored to sound determination on the side of rectitude by the events of 21, 22 and 25, and the present state of things on the Rhine. You see I do not flatter these folks very much in this estimation of them. All men had rather do right, but the majority ought to have the consolations of success in view to keep them right! I fear this is true.

Day before yesterday I had letters from the Secretary of State up to 5 February. Many of his dispatches I find by the numbers are missing. No news. Nothing said of my little friend L[ivingston], which gave me some quiet, as I feared rather a rap o' the knuckles for my vivacity. At last letters to Skipwith, Cutting, [and] Fenwick,[1] revoking their commissions are sent. S[kipwith] had resigned. The consulate general in Paris [is] abolished, and I am ordered to have the papers put into some safe hand. Mountflorence goes in a few days (his wife went in January) to Paris, and I shall put them into his safe keeping. Vans's commission also is revoked, Barnet[2] of Brest removed to Bourdeaux, Dobree[3] of Nantz and Cathalan[4] of Marseilles continued. I have sent on the letters. Vans has gone to the United States I hear via Hamburgh. I have the Secretary's report to the President of the United States on Gerry's and T[alleyrand]'s negotiation, etc., etc.[5] He calls things by their real names, and Barlow comes in for some excellent slices. Though the Colonel has not Pope's art of embalming folly and vice for the laugh or contempt of future times, he gibbets them as strikingly for the same use, and the times rather demand the whip than the satirist. I did not know (so little is Joel Barlow known in Maryland) that he had bow'd to the Bourbons. It only adds to my opinion which I have had of what are called *men of letters* ever since I was in London. Succeeding events have given to me perhaps too much of a Gothic opinion of their utility, or rather of their hurtfulness. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

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[1] Fulwar Skipwith, Nathaniel Cutting, Joseph Fenwick.
[2] Isaac Cox Barnet.
[3] P. F. Dobree.
[4] Stephen Cathalan, jun.
[5] "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 229.

Is it true that the publication of the secret convention signed at Rastadt between Austria and France year before last made a great sensation where you are![1]

To Timothy Pickering.[2]

Private. The Hague, *13 April, 1799.*

Dear Sir: A newspaper in thirty-four days from New York has just been sent to me from Amsterdam, in which I perceive that the President nominated me on the 18 February as minister plenipotentiary to France. I am profoundly grateful for and justly proud of this mark of his confidence! The same paper contained also a certain letter[3] on which I have already, in September or October, especially I think the latter, given my opinion to you, sir. It contained also the nomination (in the message) of 25 February, new modifying the first nomination. If my ambition was gratified and excited by the first, believe me the second gave me great consolation when I saw *the name of Mr. Ellsworth.* He sheds great dignity on the mission, and will give immense force to the sound things that may be effected, if they are to be done, and prove a bulwark against a refusal to do impolitic and unwise things, should they be pressed, whatever may be the issue, throughout all the United States. If the nomination be agreed to by the Senate, I shall consider myself as highly fortunate to serve with him. He knows me and knows, I believe, my great respect for him in every point of view! Mr. Henry I have not the honor to know personally. He has long played a great part in the United States, and must be a mature man. . . .

Mr. Lombard, the French minister here, was extremely delighted at the intelligence which came to him express from Amsterdam this morning, respecting the new embassy, and told me, for he called on me! that he should send an express tonight to Paris with the news. . . .[4]

CVIII.

Rec. April 21.

Ans. April 23. 16 April, 1799.

Dear Sir: Inclosed you have a message and a new nomination of envoys to France, among which the kindness and long settled partiality of the President have led him to give me a place. But this is not all. He had on 18 February sent a first message in which he did me the honor of nominating me solely for this business.[5] You know me sufficiently I trust to believe that I am, as I ought to be, indeed profoundly grateful for this peculiar mark by which his confi-

[1] Adams to Murray, April 13, 1799, in Adams MSS.; April 16, in Writings of John Quincy Adams, II, 412; Murray to John Adams, April 13, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[2] From the Pickering MSS.

[3] Talleyrand to Pichon.

[4] Murray to Pickering, April 16, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

[5] The story of the first nomination is told in "Works of John Adams," IX, 247.

dence has distinguished me! He always, indeed, treated me with peculiar kindness, always at all times and in all places. I was from the first sensible of this, and independent of his high stations have always been sincerely and faithfully attached to him! I have not in political life those friends that help to keep alive the recollection of the absent, and I therefore know that all this honor which he bestow'd upon my name and family by his nomination of me, came from himself! For though I know that many of the gentlemen near him are my friends, yet I do not think that they think so highly of me as I know he does. From 1785 I have been, as it were, his pupil, always indeed at the same time enjoying a great freedom of argumentation with him on hundreds of questions. I am very sensibly affected by this affair, for I had no pretensions to it in my own opinion.

A great and respectable voice among the few or the many must have said the same when it was found that I was to go alone, for you see he now modifies the nomination. Perhaps I love the President more for his disappointment, because his second proves to me that he hazarded a little by the first nomination, I dare say that between the 18 and 25th a great stir took place.[1] I judge solely from the message of 25th, having not seen a paper or letter but one paper from New York the 6 March on the subject. Letters to Amsterdam of 2d March from Philadelphia say the last nomination was agreed to.

Will you believe me when I declare that the second nomination, with Mr. Ellsworth [2] in it, has given me tranquility and real pleasure, even more than I should have felt in finding myself entrusted with such great and difficult affairs, and without a continental reputation as Mr. E[llsworth] has throughout the United States. I feel safe with him and can work with confidence and alacrity, for I know him personally, his ability, judgment and firmness, and high integrity. I am a little curious *entre nous* to know the clue that led to one more Virginian in Mr. H[enry]'s appointment. I do not know him personally. In the *Publiciste* (quoted in the inclosed of 23 Germinal (12th inst.)) follows the names of the three envoys characterized as one had a right to expect.

"The three envoys are MM. Murray, *Minister Plenipotentiary* at the Hague, Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the United States, and the respectable Patrick Henry, Virginian, known for his attachment to the Republican principles"! ! !—literally.

Has a Minister a right, or would he discreetly appoint a chargé des affaires, in an absence out of the country? I think he can not.

The French Minister here sent off an express as soon as he knew of the *nomination*, and is much delighted. I have not time to make a remark on the policy of all this that I have told you of the mission.

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[1] "Works of John Adams," IX, 249.

[2] Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807).

The Austrians negotiate well—confess. Yours always, my dear sir, most truly, etc., etc., etc.

Your 26, 27 [April 6, 9], safe. I am taking emetics for the ague and fever![1]

CIX.

Rec. April 25.
Ans. April 27. 19 April, 1799.

Dear Sir: I have not received any letters yet from Philadelphia respecting the late nominations. Mr. King tells me he understands the first produced a conference by appointment of Senate of five members[2] who waited on the President; the result was the second, which he hears was agreed to.

My last letter from Colonel Pickering is 5 February. He does not mention one word about any such thing as this measure. I presume therefore that the President, weighing T[alleyrand]'s letter, the state of Europe, and the firm temper of the United States, together with the existing and preparing naval force and military of the United States, delay'd any mention of his intention till the various measures of Congress, enjoined by sound policy, should have been finished and placed in his hands, and then brought forward his measure. To keep it thus back was a step dictated by his knowledge of the relaxing effects of hope upon Congress. To prevent a relaxation of the public mind in the interim I hope will be the object of the good men who work day and night for the public safety in the United States. The probable events of this summer in Europe will, I trust, work well in the United States. The giant will appear less than he did last summer. The people will have seen the good effects of exertion and defiance, and the state—retrograde—of French affairs EVERYWHERE will show them that when well opposed they are vincible; and I also trust that this effort of the President itself will be, as it ought to be, considered as a condescension of equal and armed strength to meet the soliciting advances of an enemy rather than as an act of solicitude, which it would have been last summer, unarmed and ill treated, which was if you remember the wish of the Jacobins. As to *France*, my opinions in all respect are the same they have been these two years constantly of her and her priesthood! *They say* soft things to me, and I have no objection to listen to them, but I see and rejoice that the papers make a distinction between "the respectable Patrick Henry, Virginian, well known for his attachment to republican principles," and *Messieurs* Ellsworth and W. V. M. It will do Mr. H[enry] good, as, if I ever see him, he shall know that either he or I is intended to be the Mr. G[erry] of this commission, and I believe he has not been much used to a large city and its ways. As to me

[1] Adams to Murray, April 19, 1799, in Adams MSS.
[2] Sedgwick, Bingham, Ross, Read, and Stockton.

they are *excessively* civil. I have since I wrote to you received a letter from Pichon inclosing a copy of the message of 25th February. After some general compliments he says: "Le Ministre qui a approuvé l'intention que je lui ai montré avoir de vous écrire à cette occasion un mot d'amitié, m'a recommandé de vous assurer de tout l'empressement qu'il a personnellement de vous voir bientôt à Paris: Je puis vous affirmer que la manière dont vous vous êtes fait connaitre à lui, l'a déjà tout persuadé de la facilité avec laquelle vous vous ententerez sur les points essentiels. Il me charge en même tems de vous faire connaître qu'il attend avec impatience la lettre par laquelle il espère que vous ne tarderez pas à lui demander des passeports pour vous rendre à Paris, *et que du moment ou il aura été mis à même de le faire, il n'hésitera point à vous donner toutes les assurances propres à lever les obstacles qui éloignent encore la reprise des négociations.*"

I answered to this a reciprocation of esteem for Mr. T[alleyrand] that his readiness to do, etc., etc., etc., I accepted as an augury of a handsome and happy negotiation (P[ichon] had spoken of the kind acts of the *Directory*) that every measure proposed by the President of the United States or done by him had amply succeeded in the United States, and that he came to this negotiation under circumstances highly favorable to him in the sound estimate of Europe, etc., etc., etc., to that effect.

My dear sir, the President has, I feel it, placed an unexpected and great trust into my weak hands, in part. You must continue to me your kindness in writing with perfect freedom and in the highest confidence. More than ever I need your friendship! I *know*, and you know I have so thought, that I have very little for the good of my country and the honor of his Administration than zeal. You know that that zeal often wants a *friend*. I long also for Mr. Ellsworth. Yours, dear sir, truly.

Your 28 [April 13] this instant comes—never were two modest men who offered more delicate and to me welcome flattery with good intentions![1]

But the post actually goes and I have but time to push my victory upon you which I do without mercy—so vain am I to get an advantage over you—as the Arch Duke does over Jourdan. It is on that point that I summon your surrender once more. Why my Austrians are at Schaffhausen, victorious in Italy and in Tyrol. Your French at Strasburgh and at Colmar in Alsace!

I still have the tertian ague and fever regularly, or I would write you a tremendously long letter.[2]

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[1] "It has often given me no small gratification, by flattering I hope a better passion than my vanity to find my sentiments in perfect unison with yours upon current events, even before any reciprocal communication could take place between us relating to them." John Quincy Adams to Murray, April 13, 1799.

[2] Adams to Murray, April 20, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CX.

Rec. April 28.
Ans. April 30. 22d APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I rather believe that the second nomination succeeded, so letters say from New York and Philadelphia, I *hear*. Had the President's measures of preparation failed, or the people been riotous and doubtful, I would rather have preferred risking the issue of internal contest than have adopted this measure. For under such a state of things the French government would have used a party pending negotiation or after it. But every measure that was to give dignity to the natural policy of peace, has been carry'd hollow—more among THE PEOPLE than in the Congress. The President could *afford* to take or meet a conciliatory proposition, and combining our internal strength, our external small but formidable means of offence, which gave us respectability, with the then state of Europe, and its probable career, it was expedient and wise in the Executive to show his readiness to meet the advances of France. If sincere, we may profit as a nation; if not, I do trust in the *now try'd* spirit and stamina of the country that the last step of conciliation will be the basis of uncommon union and energy! It seems to me, for I have had not one word yet from the United States, that *at the end* of a successful session, means in hand, attempts of anti's routed and defeated both in Congress and in the States, that in the possession of these advances, and perhaps knowing that the French government had made them known in confidence to others in Philadelphia (which I think like them!), that the question would naturally be then taken up by the President under this view thus: We must meet the alternative of either a declaration of war against France, or meet her advances and be willing to consider her assurances as sincere enough for an appointment. A thousand considerations are drawn from a perfect knowledge of domestic causes and things that rendered the first a troublesome question, I dare say. The *demonstration* of public spirit as a domestic bulwark against a failure of negotiation—and the state of Europe as affording ground of great caution, afforded the basis—in either way greater Union at home, and more external safety, was to be expected whether Europe stood or tumbled. Not that I think that had the last happened whether with or without negotiation that *France* would have forgiven us; but if it was to happen and this measure adopted, the power of resistance hereafter among us would be I think greatly augumented! A singular, and what, I rejoice at it! in the United States will be called a providential co-incidence of things, has happened since in Europe to favor an honorable adjustment! My young secretary McHenry, has arrived at Hamburgh—72 days at sea! It is said *privately* here, that last night General

Brune had a courier informing *that Kell* is taken by the Austrians, and 5,000 of St. Cyr's[1] men made prisoners about the same time. Sherer[2] too has certainly been defeated. We may expect a tempest against the Directory. The military is much discontented! Italy is certainly in immense ferment, Switzerland soon will be so. The patient may be in convulsions—but she kicks hard. In truth she is sick of pap, and panada and is getting hearty. Dear sir, always affectionately yours, etc., etc.

I have sent a copy of Pichon's letter which he says he wrote by order of the Minister, I mean the passages relative assurances which should be given, etc., etc. Were Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. H[enry] now here, it would be a "lucky moment" to press the tender Calista.[3]

To Timothy Pickering.[4]

Private. The Hague, *23 April, 1799.*

Dear Sir, *Truxtun's victory*[5] makes a great impression here and is treated by the *Rédacteur* more in a *complaining* than indignant manner. *They will bear* I believe a great deal more, *they* also must have *seen your late report their tameness under* the several official and public *gibbetings* is one very conclusive evidence of the acknowledged strength *of the United States.*

The late message of the President of 25 February was not expected here, it was supposed from the naval career and progress in the war of the United States that they were completely embarked as there was very little conception that France had made advances *even since the act of July* was known to her and to all the world. But that measure (as yet I know not whether the Senate agreed to it,) when it was accompany'd by *the assurances* and even solicitude, at least *expressed,* is considered as a wise one, as our point of honour had been actually vindicated by arms, and an armed defiance offered to France, as every great measure of the Executive had succeeded in the United States and every attempt to relax the great and wise measures and energies of government had failed and as sedition was known to be scouted from south to north and driven home again to those malevolent bosoms from which it had been sent to sister states! In fact, my dear sir, it is supposed that the President could *afford* to meet advances after this great vantage ground had been taken and preserved with such dignity in the eyes of the world! What would have been weak from fear, is great from what has absolutely struck all Europe, I believe all Europe, as a fortunate concurrence of things

[1] Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr (1764–1830).

[2] Barthélemi-Louis-Joseph Scherer (1747–1804).

[3] Adams to Murray, April 23, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, April 23, in Pickering MSS.; Pickering to Murray, April 24 (two letters), *Ib.*

[4] From the Pickering MSS.

[5] Cypher.

and situations that gave United States the air of superiority in this contest, *all* that has been done by arms, by addresses and by *your writings*. Suspension laws and acts of Congress were essential *preliminaries*. They have had I believe their intended effect, no human mind perhaps can foresee the issue of a negociation, should one be intended. Were one *now* on foot, or in a few months to come, every appearance authorises the idea that if it be *possible* to arrange at all, this Spring and Summer under these circumstances, and under an UNRELAXING energy at home and through the MEANS adopted and in PRACTICE every where by the United States a good arrangement would be *most* likely—if it ever is to be while France is a republic!

I do not think that I exaggerate, because of its belonging to my hypothesis, but it seems that an almost total *reverse* threatens her affairs (of France). Her military schemes *every where* are blown up! though one of her greatest adversaries has not raised his arm on the continent, the Russians having taken Corfu and one other island only, yet. A large part of Jourdan's army is on the left of the Rhine, and in great disorder, some at Strasburgh and some as far in Alsace as Colmar. Starray presses them at Kell and is believed to have broken up the left wing of the French under St. Cyr, and by address surrounded and taken many thousands, a few days since. The Arch Duke presses Schaffhausen, and Switzerland seems to be in great ferment, in some parts openly. The advantages first gained in the Grisons and latterly in the *borders* of Tyrol have been greatly overbalanced by late defeats in those regions. On the Adige, near Verona, the third great army has been twice decidedly beaten by General Kray,[1] on the 30 and 5th, and the Austrians advance nearer to Mantua. The rest of Italy is *said* by the Dutch *patriot* paper here of yesterday (one that admits reluctantly such news) that almost all Italy is insurgent, and that the people have taken Fondi. In fact, sir, the long armistice was the basis of the probable destruction of the french acquisitions. In that time Austria strengthened, theories and promises became corrected by practice, enthusiasm vanished and the renewal of hostilities, though geographically the same, was morally and politically quite in not the *same* countries! France, intoxicated also by the intermediate, puny victories, was not *prepared*, the administration of her armies *bad*, and her line of defence and offence too great for her means, moral, fiscal and military! The dyke that has been formed seems certainly to have broken, all the arc discontented, the military especially. Mr. Lombard (a man of great worth for that school!) two nights ago said in a paroxysm of rage, "Those five men have ruined my country. We shall now feel the reverse of our medal!"—this among ministers.

[1] Paul Kray von Krajova (1735–1804).

Mr. McHenry after seventy-two days has just arrived at Hamburgh. Mr. Smith had been unwell; he is now well and so was your son who he says was a great consolation to him. I have just had the honour to receive your *20*. I never expected any other issue to the mediation. Though via Hamburgh and though postage is high I can not help enclosing a paper. I am with the greatest respect and esteem faithfully, dear sir, your most ob. servt., etc., etc.

CXI.

Rec. May 2.
Ans. May 4.

THE HAGUE, *26th April, 1799.*

DEAR SIR: I have nothing yet from government respecting the mission. If any[thing] is to be done, now would be a good time, and I believe that if the French government fall into our track at all, it is probable that they will go *great lengths* to re-establish themselves with the American *nation* with a view to the *future;* and for the present, to revive their colonies and break down the independent spirit that seems clearly to have risen among them. The greatest stumbling block (always excepting even to you, the ORDERS of the President on this and other points) will be the *Indemnification* for plunder, to the amount in tolerably made out cases of I suppose 40,000,000 dollars. They *can not pay* this sum, now. It is not the estimate of a *national* loss; were it, the nation might set off something for it; our government could agree to give it up from political considerations or any other: but it is *private* loss. If, it would be said at home by the sufferers, if for national purposes you give up our claims, or take national advantages in exchange or lieu of payment, such as trade to islands, or any other national goods, you purchase it with our losses, and our nation must pay us! This was the principal of a claim made, it is true in a moment of great heat and passion, by the merchants of Boston, New York and Baltimore, and Philadelphia too (I think), in May or April, 1794, on British depredation. They thought that stock ought to be created to the amount of the plunder for those who could make out a clear *bona fide* loss by unjust taking. I forget if *they proposed* the mode of payment; but I remember that Mr. Goodhue,[1] a very sound man, brought [the] principle into discussion on petition of the merchant deputation. The *nation* would not have relished that principle, I thought from the symptoms which then appeared. *Now* I rather suspect they would kick against it, and call it a merchant aristocracy debt. This great object, equal nearly to half the debt of the United States, will prove a severe business, should there be a *mission* and a *treaty*, let the instructions be as they may—light or loose. In speaking to Pichon on this sub-

[1] Benjamin Goodhue (1748–1814).

ject, to urge the idea of the improbability of a negotiation, from the greatness of this object and our determination to be as well paid by France as we were by Great Britain, he more than once said (he, probably not ordered to say so) that that might be arranged; they could give us a trade to colonies for so many years excluding other foreigners, on terms like those of their own vessels. But I am this instant so lucky as to get your No. 30 [April 20], which by reminding me of one mistake leads me to see how visionary all this preparatory prosing is, as you still think the Senate rejected. I still, you see I am tolerably sanguine, stick to it that they would not reject the second nomination. As to the *appearance* of a division between the President and Senate, be assured they are *united;* and if it be not so on this particular, many reasons which are not explained to us yet may have *produced* this *appearance*. The one which you mentioned as a consequence of the resistance of the Senate, in France's eyes might be the one, yet no serious division. I am certain that the President was serious and sincere in his measure—notwithstanding.

I will try to discipline my Nos. a little better; but you see I am willing to admit a sort of old Conti, as I give you two for one. Here a requisition (of national guards) will take place 18 to 35—*patriots*, or substitutes from the rich. It will produce heat. I consider *France* as in a very critical military and governmental state at present. The bears and eagles ought not to be together. Dear sir, I am yours always, etc., etc.

Your books from Van Cleef are with me.[1]

CXII.

Rec. May 5.
Ans. May 7. 30 April, 1799.

Dear Sir: I got a letter from my brother who happened to be at Philadelphia in February, two days since; he says the conferees from [the] Senate were, Messrs. Sedgwick, James Ross (of Pennsylvania) Stockton (of Jersey), Reed of South Carolina; that they concurred in the second, and appropriations passed. John had the honor of having a shake of the hand from the President, to whom I presented him two years since. He says he looks well, but is not as full in flesh as when we saw him together; that Mrs. Adams is now perfectly restored, but has been very ill! No man can retain fat and spirits during these damned times! I know (it may be my weakness!) but one rock to be tranquil on in all these storms—Religion. To be sure I *was* "Parcus deorum cultor," and know not if anything would have given me this turn, except the comfortless harassing

[1] Adams to Murray, April 27, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 414; April 30, in Adams MSS.

things and bodings of these times. Mind, I am not fanatic, I see not visions; but indeed I am for a stray sheep tolerably pious in secret! Bourne writes me what I yet can not credit. He hears that VIRGINIA, that prolific mother of holy statesmen, finding her missives dashed back in her face by her younger sisters, has ordered the prisons to be opened for all confined under the alien and sedition *laws of the United States!* If so, I hope MARYLAND, small but energetic Maryland, *if* it be FEDERAL!! will be called in to bring her to her senses, and to let her feel that though bloated she is but skin and bones; though swelled to the size of an ox, that she has but the venom of the toad without the vigor of the quadruped she is bursting to equal. But this is railing. However, if this question be to be try'd at all, NOW is *the very best* time to settle such constitutional business. I have no doubt of the issue. The English papers unfold a new plot in a letter from Charleston, S. C. Our government had intelligence that four Frenchmen, conspirators, were to embark in the *Minerva* from Hamburgh for Charleston with papers concealed in a tub with a false bottom. It sent orders to have them examined on their arrival. The ship came in on 22d February (so says the letter), was examined, the Frenchmen (one a black) corresponded with the description, the tub was found and the papers in it. They were put into jail and the papers are in General Pinckney's keeping for government.[1] If it be true, the plan must have had a relation to the *blacks*, and will alarm Virginia.

I beg you to mention the word Mr. *Turner*[2] to Mr. *Pitcairn* and beg him to *watch him.* He is a *U[nited] Irishman at* H[amburgh]. If you please—if not think no more of it—as I shall write to him about such a man. Elsewhere I will tell you why. Hamburgh is a place of infinite plotting, and we find the United States have their share in the trade. The United Irish there ought to be watched, as they are devoted to France against every nation, I dare say.

A report is that Switzerland is in some ferment. Dear sir, most truly yours always.

CXIII.

Rec. May 8.
Ans. May 11. 3 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I too have observed the same nonsense in the Paris papers. The *Moniteur.* I never see or rarely; but though pride may use these affectations, it is but *pride.* They *know* that the world knows that they have been *addressed, legislated, colony-starved, alienated, driven* out, *defy'd,* and *frigated* into suppleness and good manners. New verbs with modify'd meanings must come to the vocabulary of a man who writes about them! and though awkward

[1] See McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," II, 441.
[2] Italics represent words in cipher.

I rather think my conscript verbs are as good as their conscript citizens dragged into the service. It appears to me that, as I before mentioned, things will soon come to a crisis at Paris, and that the present rulers will have occasion for all their cares at home if a commission do come, that it will be too late to see the lofty but merciful B[onaparte?], and that rare conjurer of parties, call him M.—for I *hear* the storm mutters over them in particular. For what? Be sure that "sweet human nature" has its share of tender motives. Why because they attribute the renewal of the war to these two in particular! What a curse must continued victory and prosperity be in reality, when nothing but MISERY, defeat, and disgrace, can teach one the claims of moderation. Had the gates of Vienna been sent to Paris—ah! the clamour for moderation had never been heard!

All that is true; they may be at these gates. I should not in any other state of their interior think it improbable even. Did you not make a better defence than your Jourdan I would storm the remnant force you have left. But you call out on "Solon"! and I like Croesus, full of rich means which the Austrians give, listen with humble diffidence on fortune, and with you look to the *end* before we pronounce on the happiness of the Arch Duke. But in Italy, my dear sir, they *retreat*. How far Suwarrow [1] and his Russians will not make a difference I can not say. I think however that Kray can not relish a superior, and a foreigner, after such brilliant claims to a sole command.

As I mentioned the English papers mention Northampton County, Pennsylvania, to be in open rebellion, and the volunteers turning out to quiet it. The land tax the pretence. NOW would be the best time to settle *all* such questions. I have NO doubt of the success and the good. In the next place I do not believe that there is one in twenty *Americans* among these miscreant slaves. But *entre nous*, if this affair be *serious*, and there be pretty evident reasons to believe *France* to have a moving finger in it, I do not expect the commission. I doubt if the President would send it—*till all were settled at home;* for I think it ought to be a maxim of state in the United States never to have a foreign negotiation pending insurrection at home The more you think, the more I believe we shall agree on that! I say nothing of such an idea to any one here of course. I have again seen H[ichborn];[2] and I am more and more convinced—though *to me* he always and solicitously speaks with respect of the President and government—that his party decidedly aim at a change of government in the United States. Their object is, as it has been, to Democratise the government, to *pluralise* the executive; to lodge much of its functions in the legislature, in fact an overthrow of the constitution in

[1] Alexander Vasilievich Suvárov (1729–1800). [2] He sets off for Boston first wind. *Note by Murray.*

substance. Knowing or believing *that* to have been always their *real* object clamor about Great Britain and France only the road to it, as soon as I saw H[ichborn] last winter January openly turn against the French, and damn them, I expected that the party would then openly work against the government itself—and *constitution.* But they will fail! They over-rate their strength, and are conceited and weak. So you will feel it by the great energy which this Northampton Irish rebellion will draw forth from the government. The U[nited] Irish ought to be watched by us all. Affectionately yours, dear sir.

Bourne sent me the inclosed cut of paper, and I send it to show you what a Proteus party spirit is.

I forgot to mention that in the English papers it is said (in letters from Philadelphia) that one principal cause of the rebellion was a virulent and calumnious and inflammatory letter from a member of the Pennsylvania legislature to the people, or some one in *that* county, I think. There are some Irish jobmen in that house who would make a deep impression on you, were you to *see* them and hear them!

Yes, certainly on my own account, my dear sir, I shall take care of the channel through which I shall enjoy the benefit and pleasure of your letters, *should a Commission come*![1]

CXIV.

Rec. May 12.

Ans. May 14. 7 May, 1799.

I have received *the commission*[2]—three—Mr. E[llsworth], Mr. H[enry] and W. V. M., not jointly and severally. *Entre nous*, I have written to Mr. T[alleyrand] on the 5th[3] for the explicit and unequivocal assurances of reception, rights of embassy, and negotiation.

I have papers as late as 7th March. The federal party seem cool on the nomination, at least some of them. Porcupine abuses it, and one in particular, a "damned good natured friend" so writes to me. I dare say the world will say, and some of it really think, that I worked and wriggled myself into this appointment. I did not. I did not even wish to be in it. I saw all its perils to whoever has it!

I have been writing to government, and am too late for post. Your 33 [April 30] yesterday. Dear sir, most truly yours always.

Mr. McHenry is here as my secretary.[4]

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[1] Adams to Murray, May 4, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 415; May 7, in Adams MSS.

[2] Pickering's letter inclosing the commission, is in "Works of John Adams," IX, 257.

[3] *Ib.*, 258; also Murray to the Secretary of State, May 7, 1799, p. 259.

[4] Murray to Pickering, May 10, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

CXV.

Rec. May 16.
Ans. May 18. 10 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: I have not yet heard from Mr. T[alleyrand]. My letter did not go till the 7th, as the post did not till then go. I had no one to *send*, had I thought it best; but I reflected on that and determined to send by post, because an express must have been by some decent man, and the papers would have shaped it into a measure of solicitude.[1] *Sang froid* in the first steps appears to me most politic. I owe a great deal to your opinions on many occasions; I do not wish to engage you on small piddling points. These however sometimes are thought important. On all that you think important I do beg you to tell me with *freedom*, as well as you certainly will do with candor, your opinions. There is a fish in the United States which to avoid being seen runs its head into the bank of mud without hiding itself. So a man whose head is very intent may do. A friend alone can tell him his actual situation, and the errors of his actions and opinions.

It is said that the Arch Duke has recovered and not gone to Vienna. The late catastrophe at Rastadt,[2] *according* to De Brie's [3] details in this day's paper, is indeed an atrocious and melancholy thing. I wait however for the *other side* of the tale. Be it as it may, two ministers are killed close to Rastadt, and the event, of which alone men in general judge, will be a new ally to France. The Arch Duke [4] I doubt not was as innocent of it as any man on earth, and will have the officer shot and hanged. I am sorry that the French government attribute it to the court of Vienna, as it is not only atrocious to charge a government flatly with such atrocity without hearing it, but must oblige France to go on in the war beyond even the dreadful plan of policy on which she renew'd it. However great events will teem this whole summer with consequences that may render that principle of vengeance out of date. A crisis seems indeed at hand—at least in the year.

In a *Rédacteur* 14 or 15 Floréal, is a long paragraph, anxiously written to avert the agitation of a question on a change in the con-

[1] "I think you were perfectly right in writing to T[alleyrand] by the post. Much anxiety upon the subject is not now necessary on our part, and I hope the solicitude for an arrangement on the other side will have occasion constantly to increase. I have observed some late paragraphs in the Paris papers much less insolent in their tone than has been usual heretofore. One signed *an American*, contradicting the report that the second nomination was rejected, pretending it was fabricated in England, and urging that such stories tend to discourage the French nation, at a moment when they comfort themselves under the check they receive in Europe with the hope of returning friendship with America. Another in the *Moniteur*, purporting to be an extract of a letter from Philadelphia, and saying that *the friends of our government are gaining strength*, and that the parties among us are much less heated than heretofore." John Quincy Adams to Murray, May 18, 1799.

[2] Murder of the French ministers. "Cambridge Modern History," VIII, 655.

[3] Jean-Antoine Debry (1760–1834).

[4] He was absent at the time and General Schmidt, as opponent of France, was in authority.

stitution, and it is believed that the military even at Paris have two opinions. Merlin and party are said to have been for peace; Barras [1] and Company for the war. Some Frenchmen here whose opinions are from Paris damn the whole five as villians who have ruined the country. This has been the case ever since Jourdan and Sherer's defeats—this too to members of the corps!

Your 34 [May 4] came this moment. No, I doubt if a requisition be possible in the present state of France, unless this catastrophe of the ministers excite a rage, which I think not improbable. Else it would be impossible to force conscripts. I suspect from the silence respecting Switzerland that that country is in a ferment, for to publish its *tranquility* would at present be nearly equal to a victory. Naples and all Italy will, I anticipate, be in a few weeks clear of the French.

I can not tell you with precision how our funds are here. Mr. Molière told me four days since that they have risen a little and were at a good price; but I will send you information. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.[2]

CXVI.

14 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: You will have had better accounts of "the horrid mysteries" that the 28th ulto exhibited at Rastadt than we can have; for John Debry's letter, though the basis of an implacable war, seems defective and very loosely written in point of fact. There are two opinions here as to the great authors of this assassination—Austria and France. I believe neither. Either to me is impossible. Had it been by orders of Austria, it would have been better masked and probably without murder—murder so select, for none but the two ministers were murdered. Had it been by France, the silence of the ministers could not have been completely obtained while the papers of legation lived in the hands of Austria, or were seen by her for one night only. And it is *said* that the papers were instantly given to the Austrian officer at Rastadt. I wait with others, the researches of the Arch Duke.

The message of the Directory has singular points in it for the mournful occasion—declamatory, but cold, financial in part, and conscriptional in the view. That message I confess revolted me before even it was whispered to me that probably the event had been *expected!* They have seized on the true use, it is true, that politics make of such things, to excite and enrage; but *non hic locus*. There was want of policy as well as of sound taste in mingling the *useful* with the horrible and mournful. But it seems to me impossible that they did it! I rather suppose it done by some fanatic officer urged

[1] Paul-François-Jean-Nicolas Barras (1755–1829).

[2] Adams to Murray, May 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.; May 14, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 419.

on by a priest, who may have mis-mingled piety and ambition and taught him to expect rewards here for the papers, and heaven for the blood of men whom he would represent as atheists, and who may have been so! It is the only solution I can yet give this frightful event, consistently with the murder as well as robbery, the place, and the *delivery of the papers*.

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The *reports* about the battle of the fleets are *not* confirmed. Those of Suwarrow's victories seem to be. I feel the same reserves in religious impressions that I should do in talking of loving my wife—but I am sincere! Not that I relish much the *ridendo dicere verum;* yet I sometimes guilty of it. Dear sir, always most truly yours.

CXVII.

17 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: The gentleman who brought your letters by Bremen was young Mr. Dugan, of Baltimore. He brought me also what I have told you I received, etc., etc., etc. Immense reverses pour upon the mind as well as senses. Our young sister Cisalpine is at Turin, and Turin herself with her provisionary government and her departments may find Montpelier necessary for her health, as it is not improbable that Nice would not do. Nothing but a want of provisions, forage, etc., can stay the progress. That may, but the legions will not pour out; they will not even cry out "vive"! unless, the invasion be made. That would be a scratch penetrating even below that thick skin of torpor which now envelopes all feeling, except among the *agents*. Even this horrible murder does not rouse, beyond the effect of that dramatic apparatus that is now the stilted tragedy of all France, and which I hear does little. In fact all seems very desperate. Are you not to give the world a Caesar from the diplomats of Berlin? Will not Sieyès be a *Quintuplicate?* Poor Mr. Debry ought to have it, if blows can give a title, or his escape from forty deadly blows aimed at him some omen in favor of surviving one year in a new place. Besides he has the noble faculty which Tilburina possessed—he "sees a Spanish fleet before it is in sight," sees the naked bodies of his murdered colleagues at broad day, 7 A. M., on the place where they were murdered, though the Corps Diplomatique had been out, taken a procés verbal on the spot the night before. They either did not perform the common duties of humanity in carrying away the bodies, or "Jack" never saw the bodies. That part must be surely all "Kendal Green." Yet this incoherent narrative

they mean to immortalise—so proposed some member—in engraving it every word on a monument. Sterne was very just—"they conceive well but combine badly." I hope and expect from the heroic character of the Arch Duke Charles the assassins will be handed over to the French army, if they can be found. At Berlin you may have many touches of intelligence and hints that we can not have here. As yet I have no letter from Mr. Talleyrand. Poor young Sands of New York is in the Abbaye on a charge of espionnage, and is to be try'd before a military tribunal!! I have written to Mr. Talleyrand, affirming his innocence, to Mr. Schimmelpenninck, and spoken to Brune here. It is short work with those trials! and his father as he also is a good man and a good federalist. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc.[1]

To Talleyrand.[2]

The Hague, *18 May, 1799.*

Citizen Minister: Last night I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 23d Floreal, and I beg you to accept my acknowledgments for the amicable and polite promptitude with which you so obligingly communicated the determination of the Executive Directory upon the subject of the letter which I had the honour of addressing to you on the fifth instant. This communication has been forwarded to the President of the United States.

It will be, Citizen Minister, with sincere pleasure that I shall avail myself of your polite offer of a passport the moment that I am honoured with the further commands of the President of the United States. In the mean time permit me to renew to you, Citizen Minister, the assurances of that high respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be your most obedt. Servt., etc., etc., etc.

CXVIII.

Rec. May 27.
Ans. May 28. 21 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: Entirely and exclusively *entre nous*—the *assurances are given.*[3]

I sent on 17 [4] at night one duplicate original to the P[resident] at Braintree, and to-day send him a copy *via* London, besides copies to quadruplicates to the Secretary of State. To you to whom on this subject I can write with exclusive confidence, I can say that my instructions were, as to the letter I should write, *i. e.* the body of it—*in commas*—and there was an expression which had it been possible for me to break through the dictated *words*, I had omitted—it was

[1] Adams to Murray, May 18, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 420.
[2] From the Pickering MSS.
[3] Cypher. Talleyrand's letter to Murray, May 12, 1799, is in "Works of John Adams," IX, 260.
[4] The letter is in Adams MSS.

"shall be admitted to an audience in *character*." *Admitted*, had better been, shall be publickly received or have a public reception in character. The word worked me a good deal, but I set it down as the bad players are instructed by Hamlet to repeat, from the book. The answer which was prompt, decent, and I think explicit and plump to the demand—except that "admitted to an audience" is not echoed back—is perhaps one of the most explicit things that the French Republic has ever been reduced, by the spirit and hostility of any foreign nation, to perform. It must have been a bitter pill, for the *case put* by my letter, was plain as a pike staff, and they give a response to every important member of the case put—which had no solicitude in it—which was right.

The papers show that our friends are thrown up suddenly in the wind by this measure. The news from Suabia, from Switzerland, from Adige will do great things. *Entre nous* our good folks will call the measure prophetic.

To you I can say in sincerity that whether success in negotiation in these times will prove a good to our country must depend on God and that country. It can be a good only, if our country will strengthen its government, and wall it round by energetic laws to withstand the attempts that will go on against it, fail or succeed! But vast changes in Europe will probably lay aside some of the scaffolding of our native Jacobinism, save many fearful situations arising from *success* itself. I know nothing else better that could be done, and the issue must be trusted in this as in all cases where we do the best! Dear sir affectionately yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXIX.

Rec. May 23.
Ans. May 25. 17 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: After my 36 [May 21] went I receive yours [May 11]; and I love your letters so much that I can but thank you, and I have a quarter of an hour to tell you so.

By this time Suwarrow must be I think before Turin, where the head quarters of Moreau are, and I daily expect to hear that Liguria will soon add to the number of *fugitive pieces*, drum head Republics that seem like bubbles, losing their colours and sinking when the luminary departs from them to whom they were indebted for their momentary hues; and all Italy must very soon fall back into the old dress which I believe they love most, and not a Frenchman alive be found in power in it. Dear Prince Molletorni [1] will be in a pleasant situation; but that is to be bilious at a moment when one may be generous!

[1] Gabriel-Jean-Joseph Molitor (1770–1849)?

Rewbell[1] is out. A bitter enemy of the United States, Chs. La Croix, among others is named! I had rather for the United States have your amiable friend Sieyès.

No I know not, nor ever heard, of the aforesaid Bülow.[2] I have read extracts from his scavenger's cart (as you justly call his works) and have opposed them in conversation with as much unction as I could in bad French, and do always ridicule the work of every scribbling foreigner that has been among us.

Liancourt[3] has published, and picked up every feather and posey to put the cap of French Liberty that he found at every tavern or hut in his tour. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.[4]

CXX.

24 May, 1799.

Dear Sir: Sieyès is a Director, and I am not sorry for it. He is a man for *great* measures, and his entry on the stage appears to me to be when the four acts have prepared the way for a winding up of which he may be the turning point—the last act. If he is the deep man I have heard, will probably be *a King*.[5] Buonaparte himself, if they can get him back to organize their affairs can *not save them.*

As I wrote your 38 [May 18] came. If I go I shall not take my papers for many reasons. I know that they *know me.* They have many of my dispatches, very plainly written, but have no secrets—unless they have my cypher. It is true that our papers are, or were, very easily looked into by members! a thing which makes a secret perfectly impossible. It's soon becoming common may destroy its credibility, however, among suspicious politicians; but your letters will be necessary to me, and can be occasionally cyphered.

The French fleet saw Bridport,[6] and after, St. Vincent;[7] fogs and tempests prevented bloodshed and Bruix[8] past into the Mediterranean. So the Minister of Marine says. Some think they go to extricate Buonaparte, perhaps for Sicily and to garrison Malta; though in fact I see no object important enough for the hazard at *such a moment!*

Colonel Humphreys has written to me and sent me a very good naval song for our letters of marque in Spain. Where memorials fail I do not know but it is well enough to sit down and sing a song;

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[1] Jean-François Rewbell (1747–1807).

[2] Dietrich Heinrich, Freiherr von Buelow, author of "Der Freistaat von Nordamerika in seinem neusten Zustand," 1797. Adams made a translation, which was printed in the Portfolio.

[3] François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1747–1827), author of "Voyage dans les Etats Unis de L'Amérique."

[4] Murray to Pickering, Mar. 19, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, May 23, in Adams MSS.

[5] Cypher.

[6] Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport (1727–1814).

[7] John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent (1735–1823).

[8] Eustache Bruix (1759–1805).

and Spain has suffered the French privateers in all their license, and Humphreys doubtless has try'd his logic—in vain. Dear sir, most truly yours etc., etc., etc.[1]

CXXI.

Rec. June 2.
Ans. June 4. 28 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have a thousand pardons to ask of you and great reason to chastise myself for a miserable blunder which, though committed *confidentially* to you, ought to be atoned for. I MISQUOTED certain *words*, "ADMITTED *to an audience*." Since, having occasion to copy my letter for the Secretary in a triplicate, I find my error to my great joy. It is "*received* in character to an audience."

If R[ussia] sends a minister to the United States, I wish you may again see Petersburg. There must be much worth seeing in that country. Thus I too should still gain, for I know nothing of Russia. I do consider every appointment of an enlightened minister from the United States to a country where we are not much known, and no minister has been stationary from the United States, as carrying our conquests further and further. I mean information of who we are, and *where* we are, and what sort of people we are. To enlarge the sphere of our acquaintance is to enrich our country with REPUTATION and respectability.

Yes, this Rastadt business is a monstrous thing, and the good A[ustrians] are so slow! The result which France wishes will be half accomplished before the judicial contradiction comes out, and vindication, everybody knows, never reaches all whom calumny had misled. Debry's second letter, confirming strange improbabilities about dead bodies of Bonnier[2] and Roberjot, is worse than the first. Fear, a bewildered mind might account with the very greatest possible show of charity for the first; and then his *nightingale*—that bird that has adorned every gentle eclogue and been the comparison of every shepherd's sorrows—to be foisted into so horrible a scene. It is higher than the burlesque of an Italian opera hero, who sings a song before he kills himself. There is something monstrous in many of the compositions of the present day from the philosophical politicians, that as much as anything show how very far they have departed in all their views, principles, and now even *habits*, from nature. These are part of the picture of the times. I have just read *Carnot's* reply[3]—a bitter thing, but valuable. The Floridas and Louisiana were certainly aimed at in lieu of part of the Pope's territory for the Duke of Parma![4] Yet Mr. Nicholas would say, we

[1] Adams to Murray, May 25, 28, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, May 28, in Pickering MSS.
[2] Ange-Élisabeth-Louis-Antoine Bonnier d'Alco (1749-1799).
[3] Reply to the report of Bailleul on 18 Fructidor.
[4] Ferdinand.

a'n't interested in the politics of Europe!! And Carnot says this was his plan expressly (and in italics) to establish or to secure an influence over, or, in the United States!!

I rather expect that Rewbell will now take his turn and be denounced as participating with Sherer in military appropriations. He will probably be the scapegoat. Your amiable friend Sieyès will perhaps pass this town, notice having been given to the military upon every route to show him the military honors.

The A[ustrians] must be in Coire, and the untameable Suwarrow still carries all before him on 16 and 17. Nothing from home. Truly always, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXXII.

Rec. June 5.

Ans. June 8. 31 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: This government is much delighted by a late dispatch from Mr. Van Polanen, their minister at Philadelphia, of the 7th (I think) of last month. He gives a picture of our government and of its principles and conduct that Mr. Van der Goes says, has made a very great sensation in our favour. He at the same time gave me a pile of *cuttings* of our papers—addresses, answers, essays, paragraphs, etc., etc., and poetry, all from the best literary trees in our nation. These were illustrations of the dispatch, which he told me was 30 LARGE PAGES! Have you not observed that the Europeans do not love writing as much as the Americans do.

Your brother, the amiable Sieyès, if he have accepted, has not yet passed this place. We look out for this transit. Our worthy friends the B[atavians] are secretly alarmed at his appointment; the balancing reputation of a certain Great Court I believe contributes to their fears of *him.*

From the United States by letters from London of 17th I learn that General McPherson,[1] a very fine fellow, commands against the Northampton insurgents, (he commanded a regiment, his *Blues,* against the insurrection of 1794) and that every appearance promises a speedy end to this Jacobinical patriotism. Also, that by letters from the United States our two frigates, *Constellation* and *Insurgent* lately agreed upon a feint, to engage with powder in sight of a port where a large French privateer lay, safe—they did so. The privateer of 18 guns and 150 men came out, ranged up with the *Insurgent* which she took for a compatriot; the firing ceased, and the corsair struck without a shot. I would lay great odds that this was planned by some New England captain, a Connecticut man, I rather believe; Also I hear that in the baggage of the three extraordinary envoys of the *Tub* conspiracy were snuff boxes of a mixed character

[1] William McPherson (1751–1813).

exactly like their intention—libidinous and cruel—pictures on and in the lid. Blacks murdering white men, and Black men in the arms of white women "pia Testa"! "ricam et insanos amores"

Your 40 [May 25] this moment as I write. No, my dear sir, they can not again get Italy. I think so. If they do, I will pour ashes instead of sand upon the lines by which I will confess to you my too sanguine errors.

I am glad that you observed that stuff of "honest Bailleul" [1] as Carnot calls him. Two years ago it might have been the basis of some new impudent and infamous theory respecting, really, the rights of other nation; now it is not only ridiculous, but from its impotence, contemptible! I had marked it to mention it to you; but the day of the post, I suppose, was a fine one, and from want of my usual spleen I forgot it.

A gentleman, native of Dunkerque of Scotch family, and who seems more Scotch than Flemming, of the name of Gregorie, whom I knew in Maryland eleven years since, a citizen of the United States and some years a merchant at Alexandria, has apply'd to me respecting a consulship at *Embden*, and to apply to you for him, to know if you could name *agents* of a consular character. If you do so, and have no countryman of more merit, I would recommend Mr. G. if you wished one to be at Embden. I merely told him I would write to you on the subject. I think it was in the *Spectateur du Nord* I saw Bülow's extracts. Dear sir, I am always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.[2]

CXXIII.

4 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen a long letter from Harper to his constituents respecting the general state of public affairs. Among other *things* "Mr. Talleyrand's clerk," sent to talk with me, has its share. I perceive from that letter that the federal men have been thrown up into the wind. H[arper] treats it as a mere finesse, and seems to consider their *assurances* as deception, and that nothing would come of it. The difficulty for the federal men I suppose is, to announce the measure and at the same time to exclude that hope which enervates, and might conciliate at a crisis, when nothing but justice performed ought to disarm the vengeance of the nation. Yet I do not know that Mr. H[arper] moved for a declaration of war. So it is!

The different parties at Paris are endeavoring to interest the armies in their respective views. The Duke of Pomerania comes out forcibly. Without Sweden and the Porte what can P[russia] do if pushed! I know I am sanguine, but I had starved for two years in sterile waiting. Yet by this time Switzerland is nearly liberated I suspect!

[1] Jacques-Charles Bailleul (1762–1843).

[2] Adams to Murray, June 1, 1799, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 423*n*; June 4, in Adams MSS.

These Austrians and Russians are enough to make one sanguine; they do such unexpected things. Dear sir, always truly.

CXXIV.

7 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You do me a service in checking the rapidity of my imagination. I must however do myself justice in telling you that on French affairs I have for years indulged no hopes, till after Jourdan recoiled on the 12 March towards Stockach. I considered the disease in Europe more mental than anything else, and have been you know praying for the patient to *move* its limbs, only to move, on the conviction that if it did it would turn the scales. From the presumed state of the public mind in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, *after* the defeats, I really have concluded much more than I do from the mere victories of Suwarrow; and I do believe, if the council of war at Vienna is not treasonable in divulging things, that were the Arch Duke and Suwarrow defeated, that France would gain no more advantages over Austria now than she did in '42 over Theresa,[1] or in any other war. It is doubtless in the power of the Empress and of traitors in the Cabinet, if there be such, to place the French in Italy and in Vienna; but nothing but treason at the head of affairs can, it seems to me! As to the Republic being overturned, I am not so sure of that! But when you see sweet villains as you know are at the head, such infamous corruption throughout every limb of administration, I can suppose a state of things rising from external defeat and internal discontent that might authorise a hope, though it would not justify an expectation solid enough to support any intended or wished for line of policy on our part. Nothing now can be predicated upon such weak grounds. Something may be hoped tomorrow of the funeral fête for the murdered ministers. I believe that Mr. Lombard, who is indeed a man of worth, refuses to attend, and I hope the foreign corps will not be *invited*. I have said I would not go, if invited. It is too empty and absurd! On 24 May no news of the fleet in London. Yours truly, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[2]

CXXV.

Rec. June 16.
Ans. June 18. 10 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: That letter in the Hamburgh *Correspondent*[3] was pretty greedily swallowed, and operated in many a sparkling eye and flushed cheek. Yet it was doubted, because the Frankfurt had omitted any such news. Not that I thought it improbable. I feel the superiority of that union of mind and temper that preserves an

[1] Maria Theresa (1717–1780). In 1740 she accepted the peace of Berlin.

[2] Adams to Murray, June 8, 1799, in Adams MSS., and an extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 423*n*.

[3] On Suwarrow's defeat.

equal judgment in moments of reverses. I feel also of course its great utility, because the judgment that helps to give a standard from which those at a distance may form a correct view of the present, and hence form some idea of the future, ought to be on its guard against the sanguine as well as the desperate. Your caution in the admission of good news I consider, my dear sir, just as much *firmness* as I should were it shown in moments of panic against the hasty credit of bad news; and at the same time I *think* I could show nearly as much firmness in supporting adversity, as I could in resisting the delusive overflowings of feeling when prosperity arrives. In the one case the ship lies to; in the other all sails are before the wind, the crew drunk and the rudder abandoned.

I do not consider reviews now as royal hunting parties used to be considered, and do not yet fall into the opinions which many here do, that the young König will join either side. Should certain things happen however in Paris, he may find Europe in so new a mould as to have reason to regret that he did nothing. However, if treason be not at work, it must be always rash for one so ignorant of even his interests as I am to pass a judgment. Those who peck the millstone see farther into it than the spectator can, nothwithstanding the *saying* is otherwise. The Prince of Hesse Cassel [1] has put his military on a war footing. This I suppose is part only of the Prussian system of being *ready* for contingencies; but it is said that he has taken a position (military) *not neutral.*

The French have not left this country. They have about 7000 men, most conscripts. A very decent sort of a woman came (sent by her father) from Switzerland here two days since because the Prussians were in Holland, or would be there by her arrival!

Masséna must be in a perilous state. You see I can not preach from my text—He "concentrated his force"—but he does not mention the distance from Frauenfeld (I think) and the rivers he crossed to get the position which suited him and that I believe lays Zurich open. Hotze [2] must have been engaged on his right, and the Austrians in front and flank pressing, hemming him into a very concentered position—pretty much I rather think in the way in which a lemon is concentered. The *French* individuals do not talk of any success to be expected, except that of defending France, though Switzerland and Italy be lost this campaign.

You have reviews. We have most farcical funerals. Day before yesterday was the funeral fête for the murdered ministers. No man I believe more sensibly feels the infamy of that assassination than I do, but indeed it is childish to see two empty black coffins, with an inscription (which I hear was in bloody letters) that Austria had assassinated, marching about, to the poor meadow where four trees

[1] William IX, landgrave from 1785 to 1821.

[2] David von Hotze (1740–1799).

were planted in the morning. Mr. Lombard was not there, nor any diplomat, except Mr. Galdy the Cisalpine minister. Some of the common people said the ministers ought to have been present; others that they ought not. Nothing from England yet of the fleet. It is at Toulon I now believe. Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

The Chateau of Milan I believe (in spite of caution) is taken, and Genoa also. The new plantation of liberty poplars does not seem to thrive. They will be treated as Priapus (Horace) declares he was—*Atque in me veniat mictum, atque cacatum Julius, et fragilis Pediatia, furque Voranus.*[1]

Noël, who has a hankering for the peaceful honors of shades of the Hague, is here; and though Mr. Lombard did not attend the fête, because he had no orders from the Foreign Affairs to do so, yet Noël marched away in it. I fear that as the violent ones speak against L[ombard] for this, that a party will be hatched against him. Noël I think will be one of them.[2]

CXXVI.

14 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You do not mention the subject of some communications which I think I informed you I know (I intended to tell you only, in Europe) from and to me from Paris.

In a *Rédacteur* lately did you observe news from the United States in which the Paris politician announces that the insurgent spirit has manifested itself in our South, and that at Gallatin, in the mountains, "*les amis du gouvernement français* augmentent de plus en plus" . . .

I learn from Paris that T[alleyrand] declared to a French friend, talking on American affairs, *that neither of the two governments sincerely desired peace, but that the public mind forced both.* I trust that both understand each other! and hope if there be a treaty it will rest on mere justice and policy, unsupported by rhapsody and love songs. As to T[alleyrand]'s public mind, there could be no such thing. The "tamer of kings"[3] preferred to dine with kings at Wesel. He cast his illegitimate child just as most fathers do who get very high. You will probably have T[alleyrand], though as he is a favorite with *Warwick*, he may be necessary. Hahn, who took tea with me yesterday (first visit since his fall) says Warwick is absolutely incorruptible! and this too immediately after a conversation on Kant's new Philosophy, on the connexion which H[ahn] assures me exists between liberty as the *source* and morals as the *stream*, between metaphysical truth and government. We certainly did not understand

[1] Satires, lib. I., sat. VIII.

[2] Adams to Murray, June 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, June 13, in Pickering MSS.; Pickering to Murray, June 14, *Ib.*

[3] Sieyès.

each other, and I doubted if he clearly saw the subject. I had told him that Warwick would, I heard, demand an exposition of the deficit as far as the Directory might be implicated, before he acted, that he might show that his hands were clean—to that date. When the English used to plunder wrecks on shore, a worthy clergyman was interrupted by a cry of "a wreck, a wreck," by a man who rushed into the church. His flock at the well known sound rose and were on the point of rushing out to the pillage. He implored them as Christians to stop to hear him—"only three words, my fellow Xtians"—trussing up his pontificalia—"only 3 words," getting near the door—"Let's start fair"! and off he darted to the shore. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.[2]

(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, *June 14, 1799.*

DEAR SIR:

. . . . . .

You observe in some one of your letters that the Batavian government is indefatigable to prevent a rupture between France and the United States. But really I can see no sufficient motive for their zeal. If war between the two countries actually existed, our commerce with Holland could not be more interrupted: and as to her being drawn into the quarrel, that also could not materially affect her interests. The Dutch are at war with Great Britain: but on the part of the Dutch it is a war in name only. The same would happen in respect to the United States. There are greater evils than war to be apprehended by every nation within the reach of French fraternity. Even a treaty with a government so perfidious as that of France is terrible. It made treaties with Holland, with Switzerland, with Geneva, with Sardinia, with Genoa, with Rome, with Naples—and all these nations are undone! Tuscany also is involved in ruin, unless the advance of the Austrians and Russians may have intervened to save it. The Pentarchy of the Luxembourg must be overturned before any safe negociation can take place with France. . . .

CXXVII.

Rec. June 23.

Ans. June 25. 17 JUNE, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR: A very celebrated governor once had a very pleasant physician, called Dr. Snatchaway. The governor had had then, as candidates for place now have, many a hungry day, and indeed had supported the toils of running a wild goose chase only by the cheering prospect of his bird and his bottle; with also the hope that when things did change for the better his fortitude in supporting

[1] Adams to Murray, June 15, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[2] From the Pickering MSS.

cuffs and bruises would produce some pleasing recollections, and give zest to his wine and his honors. But Snatchaway's wand perpetually banished not only the dainties but the solids from his table, with his "*omnis saturatio mala*, absit. Give my lord governor about one hundred confected wafers and a few thin slices of quinces, which will sit easy on his stomach and assist digestion." [1] Well, I can not help it for the soul of me! When Alps sink before them, and thousands of brave fellows die for every mile that is gained for such a cause, I can not be quiet with "thin slices and wafers," and I growl as honest Sancho did, because I love to *feast* on joyful occasions. It is true however that one should "be wise when merry," and I feel that the crisis thickens in proportion as the armies advance towards what has been lately called, in one of the councils, "the Sacred territory." Zürich must be in possession of the Arch Duke, for Masséna says that after a successful battle he concenters his force by positions on the chain of the Albis mountains, and that his left is on the Rhine, his right on the lake of Zug! We have nothing yet official of the British, etc., etc., at Naples. The *news* from the *Publiciste* of 12th inst. is that all the French, except the garrisons of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaëtta, have left that kingdom. The north of Italy must decide the lot of the Parthenopean Republic.

There must be something *strong* in a very short time with *France*. Convulsion is her only resource. To what that will immediately or remotely tend can not be seen, but I rather expect from *Warwick* what I before mentioned—if it be possible. Boulay's (de la Meurthe)[2] book on the English revolution and restoration of C[harles] 2,[3] I hear, is read with avidity, and the remark of my correspondent is that he is astonished how the government can permit its circulation at such a moment. I have not seen it, but shall have it in a few days. He says also (it must be hearsay!) that the Minister of War the other day sent for some of the chiefs of the *cavalry*[4] and told them that if their men repeated once more the language of insubordination that it was known they had publicly uttered, they would be punished with death. They answered "if such a misfortune happened in one single case, in one hour all over the city would have heard the cry of *vive le roi!*" [4] It is certain that the military speak their discontent there very openly, with what object and end we can not be sure. Augereau's apparition in the legislature is no good omen for the Executive, who I believe, however will again be VICTORIOUS. The rebellion in Pennsylvania, Mr. K[ing] says, is over. My dear sir, always I am yours, etc., etc., etc.

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[1] "Don Quixote," Part II, ch. XLVII.

[2] Antoine-Jacques-Claude-Joseph Boulay de la Meurthe (1761–1840).

[3] "Essai sur les causes qui en 1649 amenèrent en Angleterre l'Établissement de la République."

[4] Cypher.

P. S. I have not one line upon the subject so very important for me to have hints, confidentially given, upon—as to views, expectations, and more immediate causes that dictated the policy. To me they are pretty obvious, I think, and naturally rose from the state of things in the United States. As we both have thought from the first, that there was but an alternative—a *Declaration*, or *Negotiation*. To go on in the *middle state*, with such a constitution, was hazardous. It laid it and the nation bare to TREASON, for the very word "*enemy*" is technical with us, and there was no ENEMY technically, under the half way measures. The then (perhaps present) state of Europe also was exceedingly awful, and I can not see what else could be done! But the federal men ought on sound principles to have been in this event the first to fight through and through a measure which the weakness of their party or other things rendered necessary. I just hear from Colonel P[ickering] of 14 April. The rebellion is over—without fighting—and the most active are under trial at Philadelphia before the Circuit Court. . . .

Pray do me the favor to send me an impression of your very elegant *seal, on* or *in* your next.[1]

CXXVIII.

Rec. June 27.

Ans. June 29. 21 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday it was reported here on the supposed authority of a courier (that *certainly* arrived at one P. M.) *that the whole Five Directors were on 17th turned out*, and I hear that the *Moniteur* has it that Treilhard certainly was, on pretence of invalidity of election![2] I have not seen the *Moniteur*. My *Publiciste* of that day says that on a motion to take off the *permanence* from the session, Briot[3] said, "No, all my letters from different parts and the advice of my friends give me reason to expect *a* GREAT EVENT on Primidi" (that was Nonidi) or words to that effect. If the news be true, we may expect a most horrible anarchy of power plunging like a half dead tyger, always formidable, and never to a certainty dying, more than a cat is, though her entrails be half out. The "*Spectator*," etc., has a system for them which he seems to have formed with care in all respects except towards the present relative force of the exterior enemies. It is probable that they will organise their remains of credit and force as he says, but royalty I rather think will be bolder than it was inside—certainly outside—and the *enthusiasm* and *energy* that *terror* creates will not, can not, do much. Glass itself is malleable in a particular stage of fusion, but they want metal in their means,

[1] Adams to Murray, June 18, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, June 18, in Pickering MSS.

[2] Revolution of 30 Prairial. Treilhard was succeeded by Gohier, and Larevellière and Merlin were forced to resign.

[3] Pierre-Joseph Briot (1771–1827).

morally as well as fiscally, to preserve elasticity, ductility and strength to them, when out of their burning furnaces.

I read the greatest part of Boulay's book the other night with astonishment. To me it is *Royalty!* and his fifth chapter, entitled "means by which the people (of England) were brought back to Royalty," at such a time is more a beckoning along the path than a warning to avoid it. All his reasoning too upon the purely representative principle is MONARCHY. Burke has not said more against the incapacity of the many to govern themselves. In such and such situations, after parties do so and so, and power is so and so abused, always pointing out from the supposed English cases a parallel with those obviously existing in France—in such a case, the people of England having demanded their King, "the voice of the people is truly the voice of God." From the honor he does the Presbyterians, whom he makes at once lovers of liberty and yet capable of embracing a monarchy principle, having found the impossibility of maintaining a democratic republic, I should judge that he and his party are of the same principles and will act the same part if they can.

Post gives me nothing from you to refresh me this cold day. I am always truly yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

I got your 46 [June 15] as I closed my letter. No man has calculated with tolerable success on the genius, and even the species of the great monster. *Revelations* may be written, but no prophecies. Your father, Alexander Hamilton and Ames, were the only men that I remember to have heard foretell the *duration* of these calamities, as far back as 1792, I think, when I had, I own, a different opinion. I confess that now I *hope*, not in proportion to my wishes. I trust much to that malleable quality in the social character that is governed by events, and that soon in a great degree obscures at least the impressions of theory—particularly of fanatical theory. You saw this I think in the time of Lewis 14 and Charles 2, and we may live to see the day when *philosophy* will be brought on the stage as a fit subject for laugh and ridicule, just as that canting mawkish sister of hers was—religious hypocrisy! IF *events* are against these destructive principles, their propagators will be considered just as thieves are. Again, dear sir.[1]

CXXIX.

25 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The success of the Councils over the Directory has been quite contrary to my expectations. Treilhard was dismissed, as unconstitutionally elected! and without opposition, I believe; and Merlin, that bloodsucker of our commerce, and the wretched

[1] Murray to Pickering, June 22, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, June 22, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 423; June 25, extract in *Ib.*, 430*n*.

little philanthropist Lepeaux, finding how things went resigned! Boulay (de la Meurthe) (whom I consider as much a royalist as Monck was before he sent Sir J. Grenville to Charles 2) was the most violent of the clever men against these Inepti, as they were called, and for what has at first the air of *popular measures*, as freedom of the press, etc., etc. Other men, as Briot, Berlier,[1] *seem of his* PARTY, and equally VIOLENT. This may be to support republican measures; but there seems to me to be ground to suspect that it is but machinery for the settlement of the *kingdom!*

Mr. K[ing] tells me excellent news; that Mr. Marshall, General H. Lee and Col. Levin Powell,[2] and seven other federalists, are in for Virginia. Nicholas carry'd a sharp election, but by a small majority. Venables, declined serving. If M[arshall]'s silly declaration on the *inexpediency* of the Sedition law does not entangle him he may be very useful. Powell is a fine fellow, and was I think the ONLY man in Virginia who voted as elector for the President. Lee too has just views and talents. In fact I think, my dear friend, that the government strengthens daily. It is highly consolatory to me so to think. Always yours.

Gohier,[3] Roger Ducos [4] and Moulins [5] are now the new Directors; the first I hear is a violent J[acobin.] [6]

CXXX.

Rec. July 3.

Ans. July 6. 28 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The last post gave me no letter from you. I hope that this strange weather has not made you ill. Here we just begin to have garden strawberries, but I doubt if there will be cherries, apples, peaches, or any fruit from buds exposed by their elevation to the cold winds and insects that prey on trees. Indeed there seem to be moral and physical causes enough at work including the past winter to forbode a scarcity of grain also in Europe this autumn and next year. If a very old remark made by our old Governor Sharpe [7] be just, we shall have a severe winter in the ensuing one. He said he had remarked for forty years that we had a severe winter nine times in ten, on that succeeding a severe one in Europe.

We have no news from the armies. Suwarrow is at Cherasco, Massena at Bremgarten, I believe. The troops of the last seem to have *deliberated* a little, I judge from his late address to them. Every eye here turns towards Paris, for the progress of some great plan which

[1] Théophile Berlier (1761–1840).
[2] (1738–1810.)
[3] Louis-Jérome Gohier (1746–1830).
[4] Roger Ducos (1754–1816).
[5] Jean-François-Auguste Moulins (1752–1810).
[6] Murray to John Adams, June 28, 1799, in Adams MSS.; to Pickering, June 26 in Pickering MSS.
[7] Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland.

I do believe is in action and which will daily develop itself in signs that show approaching. Royalty, anarchy, may and probably will be one of the means. *Warwick* [1] I still consider as a royalist, for whom may be doubted—perhaps for M. D'Orléans. Though W[arwick]'s head may go for it, yet the anarchy that will follow will secure the main object. They *can not* do otherwise and parties now as in England are only jealous of each other instruments of so great a work.

47 and 48 [June 18, 22] arrived this instant. I shall like to see Noël's edition of Pogge.[2] De Salanger [3] has given me that relish and I know not how it is, whether that I consider people of the middle ages and of the 13 and 14 centuries in the light of ancestors more than I do the Romans, or that there is a real charm in every dawn both natural and moral, but I love to search more into the 13, 14, and 15 centuries, than into the times of infant or of flourishing Greece and Rome! I have in vain try'd on that taste to get a book which you praised, *Roscoe's* (Medici,[4] etc., etc.) but have never been able to get it. Salenger's (a Dutchman's) "Memoirs de Litterature" are pleasant to me on that account. I picked up two only of the three volumes at a sale.

As to H[ahn] and the dust about your dispatch, I had the whole benefit of it, so I beg you to take the brunt of some such thing for me; particularly if you can find a revolutionary state of things any where to give activity to impertinence, and some great nation to play the part of brother Bruin behind poor Jerry Sneak, who each moment looks round with a "stand by me brother Bruin"! and is exceedingly warm and dignify'd. In fact I had orders to soften off the edges without yielding substance—words, mere words. I waited till they sent their letter to me. It was less absolute than I had expected from H[ahn]'s bow-wow talk. I then assured of respect, amity, etc., etc., and necessity of publishing, etc., etc., and then demanded of them if they could justify to our government certain expressions in their letter to you which must have excited much feeling: "Advise your government to assert its flag from the daily insults it receives from England." Whether it was not unfit language to a government, or to even an individual, to pretend to awaken a sense of honor against *daily insults*. In fact I made as good a battle in the retreat as I could by attacking them in turn, and never have I heard since of it. Alas! in a little time Charles La Croix justify'd and new painted every line you had written by packing them off to the House in the Wood and other places!

Mr. Bezier,[5] late an agent in the Amsterdam Marine is Director, a very deserving and, I hear, an able man. Always, dear sir, truly yours.[6]

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[1] Sieyès.
[2] Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459).
[3] Albert Hendrik Sallengre (1694–1723)?
[4] "Life of Lorenzo di Medici," published in 1796.
[5] Augustinus Gerard Besier (1756–1829).
[6] Adams to Murray, June 29, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CXXXI.

Rec. July 6.
Ans. July 8. 1 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You are right; the times are too serious for a laugh, and God knows I have not laughed, I think, since an American, our countryman named Mr. Fosdyk, was here last autumn. He begged permission to laugh. Said he had not since he came into Holland laughed once, and had a dry laugh-making humor without design. But to be serious. It is said officially that McDonald has beaten the Austrians near Modena, and being now joined with Moreau's right will advance towards Mantua! I doubt all this—almost all. There is here some talk of Van Hooff and Hasselt[1] having given umbrage to *France*. These will be tender times for her to push the government hard here.

I had read Giles's declaration for disunion, and Nicholas's, that things were verging towards a monarchy, or like that. No, the Dominion is too wise to separate. I should sooner fear the theorists of New England, who three years since did *talk* of it, as a *threat*. One flesh and bone, we shall, after much folly perhaps, be more and more united. These are not times for insulating adjoining provinces of our empire into separate nations. All things are against it, permanently; nothing but a temporary fit of humor can be for it. Powell will be excellent. Lee has more pretension and may now and then give a lurch from the helm. Marshall I fear comes in on middle ground, and when a man plays the amiable in a body like that he can not be counted, but he will vote generally right. I was amiable the first session! It cannot last.

Mr. Talleyrand has written to me that "Maj. *Mountflorence will be obliged, having no public character, to quit France.*" He does not say, but I know, they wish *me* to draw him away. M[ountflorence] has no public official character. I put the papers and books of the ex-consulate in his safe keeping, on Skipwith's resignation. They were at the time in the keeping of a young Frenchman, late a clerk in that office. I answered *that I had nothing but to thank him for the personal delicacy towards myself that rendered his letter in his own opinion necessary; that I could say nothing officially on the subject.* Some American probably has denounced poor M[ountflorence] to the police, and there is I believe a standing law for the expulsion of all foreigners from Paris. I could and would not give any importance to the affair. If I had, I must have asked a favor upon a delicate point and been liable to refusal. They would not have refused, but they would have asked of me some favor respecting some one at Philadelphia, or afterwards have brought it into their account of favours. The fact is the Minister of Police did send an order for his departure

[1] Jan Willem van Hasselt.

about the 15th ultimo, and M[ountflorence] was so unguarded as to write him a letter announcing himself "comme agent de mon gouvernement, etc., etc." The minister recalled the order. He sent me copies. I sent him a pretty severe reprimand, "that he was no agent, etc., etc.," and in my letter to T[alleyrand] I have said he had no public character, but was merely in the safe keeping of the papers of the late consulate. T[alleyrand] mentions the order, but not its recall. He says M[ountflorence] is implicated in some affairs of delicacy but not *what*. I assured him I had always found him discreet and a man of honour. . . . Yours most truly, dear sir.

It is said and with probability that Switzerland, Uri and Glavis, and their neighborhood, will give the Arch Duke 10,000 men. Piedmont is without doubt a dangerous scene in its state of insurrection, and will check the steps of Moreau in any attempt to penetrate the ground which has been left. We have a *report*, it may be a straw at which people catch, that the troops beaten by McD[onald] are *Neapolitan* troops, but this is not likely. In a former war the Austrians I think suffered by the raising of the Siege of Mantua when they had penetrated into Piedmont, and were thus cut; but then France was more master of herself.

2 July. I have been very much gratify'd by a letter this morning from your brother, Mr. T. B. Adams, Quincy, 20 March. Parties seem to have been in what the old ladies call a great *quandary* by the nomination. Jacobins pleased, others therefore against it. He is also my "damned good natured friend," as he quotes me Peter's[1] ridicule against me as "the *sentimental* Mr. Murray" when he abuses me. One learns thus from an enemy, and I will examine to see if I am the *sentimental*. If hating *Universal Benevolence!* "despising *philosophy*" and narrowing down *Philanthropy* to a nutshell, is to be sentimental, I am a "*beefeater!*" I am weak, but I deny Peter's charge. The rascal knows when to touch a man's pride![2]

To Timothy Pickering.[3]

Private.

The Hague, *3 July, 1799.*

Dear Sir: For some weeks past the more violent party have been active. Daendels, restless and displeased since the new Government, may be considered as at the head of it. Lately a close connexion between him and General Brune has taken place. Brune and the Directory have been, to say the least, very cold towards each other for these two months. He and Lombard, the French Minister have also had differences. Small circumstances bring personal feelings into contact and collision. Lombard refused to attend, at Brune's

[1] Cobbett.

[2] Adams to Murray, July 2, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, July 2, in Pickering MSS.

[3] From the Pickering MSS.

invitation, the French Fête on the Death of Roberjot and Bonnier at Rastadt. This is understood to have produced heat openly. Ten days since Brune received intelligence from Paris that the Ex-Director Merlin had quitted Paris and would pass through Holland. Brune wished to arrest him. He went to Mr. Lombard to communicate the intelligence and to secure his coöperation it is believed. Lombard said that if Merlin passed here he ought to be suffered to go, he was an unfortunate man. They parted in anger. Brune it is said sent an account of this to the Government of the French Republic. Long before this all the violent men here have been opposed to Lombard he was too good and too unmeddling for them. He respected the rights of the Batavian government as far as was possible, and was not an intriguer; he was of course in their eyes a nullity, and void of talents for Business. It is true he has not much knowledge of men, but he has good principles; with excellent dispositions, as his manners and his writings show. Treilhard the best of the Directory was his patron and friend and drew him from the Domestic life, which he loves. Treilhard was overturned as you, sir, know on the 16th ulto. Lombard had been a little incautious in seeking about the real character of the Directory a month before its fall, and had never believed in the Rastadt story of the assassination as implicating Austria. He has I understand not been paid either by his government, and has got along by advances made by the French banker under the security of this government. He was disgusted and perhaps saw the necessity of retiring from a service where all is intrigue, supplanting, mistrust, and ruin. He demanded permission to resign twelve days since; this was refused. I hear this morning that yesterday he received the refusal; but at night at nine for I was with him at the Minister of Foreign affairs, a courier arrived with dispatches to General Brune and a letter of recall for Mr. Lombard unpleasantly worded, as he was commanded to come instantly to Paris and from the moment to cease his functions as Minister. He set off at three this morning without any audience of leave, because of the nature of his recall. This morning Mr. Van der Goes sent in his resignation of the Foreign affairs. It was refused to be accepted. Doubtless he foresees an approaching struggle, and justly appreciates the external as well as internal crisis that seems to overhang this and other affiliated Republics.

An invasion from the English seems to be expected and they strengthen Zealand as the place most accessible and least attached. General Brune yesterday afternoon waited on the Directory and demanded that the Dutch troops here should be sent to Zealand and no troops be left here but the French! The Directory refused. They parted in displeasure. Some very serious struggle between the government and a party seems approaching, if some great external

event do not settle all minuter questions. The choice of Sieyès into the French Directory was considered as extremely ominous for this republic.

In fact, sir, every thing but adds proofs of the impossibility of upholding here or in Europe a purely representative elective government. Power is and will be the mere sport of intrigue and Military interference. They will all be obliged to re-tread their steps and this period of the recall or at least near approximation to the old principles seems to me not very distant. I have the honour to be with great respect and esteem, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

CXXXII.

5 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the 2d night Mr. Lombard received an order to go immediately to Paris—and to cease his ministerial functions from the moment he received the letter. Of course he could not have the usual ceremonies of leave. At three next morning he set off with his lady, but leaving his children here. I believe also that de Mezières, the secretary, is not left chargé des affaires. Next morning, that after his recall, Mr. Van der Goes sent in his resignation of foreign affairs, which was positively refused. From this and some other circumstances that have recently come to light, there is cause to fear some approaching violent change here. The *Ami de Loi* and others have lately made round charges of "British" against this government. General Brune, it is known, is not well with it; and Daendel is well with B[rune]. Since Lombard's departure a Dutch man of fashion and fortune, who is in the party adverse to the Directory and ministers, though a moderate, observed with indignation and contempt that L[ombard] was a mere nullity, had no energy. I observed he was in my opinion the best they had had there. He sagaciously demanded, "Why, sir, what has he done?" "He has done nothing"! So it is. A man who indeed respected their independence, as far as he could, is put on the level with the log, and they cry out for the stork! In truth L[ombard] took no pains to be known, gave not one party of any sort that I know of. There is a story here of Merlin's having past the Hague, and of a dispute between Brune and L[ombard]. L[ombard] saying, if M[erlin] were here, he ought as an unhappy man to pass.

Your *50* [June 29] as I write. Sieyès was opposed to Moulins' election. M. an old military of a good character I hear. You will have heard of *Gohier* in place of Treilhard, and of Moulins and Roger-Ducos in that of Le Peaux and Merlin. Barras is perfect quicksilver; he is broken to shivers, but conglobulates again, *totus in seipso*. My *Boulay* is thumbed to pieces—"Causes of the English Revolution and why it failed," etc. He so draws events by a little force so as to preserve a parallel in the mind with those of the French,

for he never *compares* them. He shows in the causes of failure exactly the causes that must and will defeat the revolution of France, he ends with a very striking chapter—the causes that led the people back to loyalty. I do not remember that he mentions the French revolution once, but you see it throughout, and his object comes out glaringly, to my eyes. To show you that I do not mistake an alehouse for a moated castle, when I read it I had not its character. I expected to see a chart of the shoals and warning given. The objects were not *expected* that came out as I advanced. I knew too that he was a violent republican. It was a conviction concluded from the work, and opposed to what I had expected, for I could not suppose that he would try to make his party despair and encourage the royalists. Yours, dear sir, always.[1]

CXXXIII.

Rec. July 14.
Ans. July 16. 8 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I can without much violence to the real principles of those violent men suppose them all to be royalists, if I have reason to think that B[oulay] is one. I really do not think that any of them are truly-anti-royalists; for of their being *republicans* in truth and spirit, I have never thought them so for a long time. If the two B.'s are royalists, one of them would write just such a work, and yet the other would denounce Adrien. Extremes are excellent parts under which to unite with extremes. B.'s book, when you read it you will say, is royalism. It was published before the crisis, an almost profession or at least expectation, if not faith. B. has been *not denounced*, though the handbills of Lyons have been. B.'s did not openly and in words demand a king—those did; yet B[onaparte] has been supported since by the violent party. As to *swearing*!! I pray God to forgive the human race for the *perjury* of the last ten years. Philosophy, I take it, has all the rights of the Popedom devolved upon her. She has magazines of absolution! My expectation is that some sort of royalty will make its appearance in the capital at no very distant time. Dupery is exhausted, hunger and thirst will have their day; and these fellows mistrust and dispute each other too much upon trial to remain long with a master. I do consider all their turns but as modes of selling themselves to most advantage, and they wish to put others out of the market. But as to *swearing*, I swear it is one of the pleasantest things I ever heard, and one of the severest against *France* and her host. I however must say that I believe Joubert to be sincere, and to believe himself a real republican.

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[1] Adams to Murray, July 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.

Poor Lombard will be accused, not officially at P[aris], of negligence, not observing the movements of the Orangists and of a court not ten thousand miles from you! Count Bentinck's visits to Pichegru at Brunswick, and at Berlin, and London, and being accablé, too visibly in the company of royal ministers by the reverses of France. *Fouchet de Nantz* [1] is named to come here, once violent, now, I hear, phlegmatic. He went to cure Cisalpine's hysterics, staid but I believe forty days and left her as he found her. I hear that his secretary is a clever man. The French never respect a man who is not at least in appearance an intriguer. L[ombard] was not. I am too strong yet to press you and McDonald. I refer you to Suwarrow. It is strange that Moreau's right did not aid McDonald in the late action. I will only say with modest assurance that the citadel of Turin and Lucerne are in the hands of the Austrians! I had really expected that when the Attorney Merlin[']s removal] was on the carpet and the subject of foreign relations was spoken as forming a ground of charge, that some notice would have been taken of the United States. As I saw Barras left untouched, and as he had been exceedingly conspicuous against us, I supposed that they could not attack Merlin and LePeaux and execute Barras!

Since the liberty of the press I have seen some very bold little brochures from Paris. Rewbell by those, bore off the furniture from the Palace; Hoche [2] (of which I heard long since) was poisoned, and Marceau [3] assassinated by order of the Directory; hints are given also of Rastadt!

Riou [4] I see has again brought forward the subject of privateering in the 500. We may conjecture from their steps on this motion what spirit possesses them under their present new lights. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[5]

From Timothy Pickering.[6]

(*Private and confidential.*) Philadelphia, *July 10, 1799.*

Dear Sir: On the 8th instant I received your letter of the 23d of April. I am sorry to differ from your opinion on the two points mentioned. The French government tamely bears our defiance, and "the official and public gibitings," not because they acknowledge the strength of the U. States, but because they have too much other work on their hands to trouble themselves about us, at present.

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[1] Joseph Fouché, later minister of police and Duc d'Otrante (1763–1820).

[2] Lazare Hoche (1768–1797).

[3] François-Séverin Desgraviers Marceau (1769–1796).

[4] Joseph-François-Marie Riou (1765–1811).

[5] Adams to Murray, July 9, 1799, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 432*n*.

[6] From the Pickering MSS.

You observe that "the President's message of 25 February was not expected *in Holland:*" The nomination of any mission to France by *President Adams* [1] was not expected *here:* the truth is, every man whom you knew and respected, every *real patriot,* every man who had steadily and faithfully supported his and his predecessor's administration was *thunderstruck,* it was *done* without any *consultation with any member of the* government, and for a reason *truly remarkable—because he knew we should all be opposed to the measure!* Perhaps no intimate friend has frankly told you the facts: it is painful to relate what can hurt the sensibility of those we love: *I* should have remained silent, had not the sentiments expressed in your letter required me to speak. Perhaps I ought not to have waited for this, perhaps even the public interest demanded an early and explicit communication.

The first message of February 18. was referred to a committee of the Senate. *Some of the President's real friends* endeavoured to *persuade him to withdraw the nomination. He was inflexible.* Then they determined *to put a negative upon it. The President heard that* such was to be *the report of the committee* in very *pointed language* on the morning of the 25th. *This he thought best to anticipate* by sending *the message of that date* in which *the Senate acquiesced* deprecating at the same time *the mischiefs to be expected from any mission to such miscreants* as composed the French government, and under the actual circumstances of the United States. Without saying any more, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed column of a newspaper. Who was the author I know not. The irony is severe: but it did no more than express the strong feelings of the men whom you respect and esteem, so far as it regarded a mission to France. The truth is, that negociation for a treaty with a government so totally unprincipled, so shamelessly perfidious as that of France, would give us no security for peace or of compensation for injuries. All the nations of Europe within the reach of her arms, had witnessed the promises of the Directory and the violation of them, the moment they had leisure to renew or commence their operations of pillage and subjugation. What therefore the United States had to deprecate above all things was negociation with such a power. There will not be any safe treaty with France until its government (not the tyrants who successively administer it) shall be changed. Thank God, the prospect of this approaches; and until then neither the rest of the world will enjoy safety or tranquillity, or the people of France themselves the smallest degree of freedom.

This frank communication I trust will find an apology in the sincerity with which I remain, dear sir, your faithful friend and servant.

[1] Cypher.

CXXXIV.

12 July, 1799,
and 24!! of the Independence of the United States.

DEAR SIR: The new French Minister Fouché de Nantes,[1] arrived here yesterday. Van der Goes I believe does not insist on resignation, and the Directory I rather think will act with some firmness if any attempt is made upon the chastity of the executive couch.

The Austro-Russian troops seem to acknowledge the hazard of their late positions on the event of a junction between McD[onald] and Moreau, but the 17, 18, and 19, June seem to have settled that doubt by the most bloody victory that has been gained since this new war commenced! And Moreau's situation must be critical, though I am not a military, nor minutely acquainted with the topography of the spot he is in. I confess that in calculating the operations of the allies my mind stops in shifting clouds when I suppose Suwarrow and the Arch Duke on the borders of France; or does any very probable conjecture even lead on to the effect of that measure in relation to the interior of France. All seems chaos there.

I have received yesterday some pamphlets from Paris, one which is dated July, 1798, "*Cassandre,*" by Dannican,[2] which seems to me to have been written there but retouched *after events* had happened. But there are some good things in it. The others [are] of the revolutionary parties. The "Theory of Conspiracies" is a violent thing, that charges on Talleyrand an intimacy with General Washington—who never received him. Bailleul and Briot—they all tear each other to pieces!

I this moment receive a note from your old friend Mr. Bosset to ask "whether the report is true that Daendels is *suspended?*" I had not heard it. If they suspend without confining, he will suspend them. The 12 June arose from that state of suspense into which they put D[aendels] who is a decided man. Party, anonymous writings prevail, *since* the liberty of the press at Paris—one yesterday charging the Director ERMERINS with being sold to Great Britain! and such nonsense. In my next I may tell you who is *hung* up, though I now do not expect violence unless the Cisalpine doctor has some new prescription. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. Your 52 [July 6] this moment. No, I hear I suppose *more* and more frequently and with fresher impressions from Paris than you can do at so great a distance; but I sometimes think that I mistake a mob of various facts and whispers and stories for evidence beyond what a real disciplinarian in reasoning would admit. And I know that I am no Prussian in that discipline! and among my

[1] See "Gedenkstukken, 1798–1801," 61.

[2] Auguste Danican (1763–1848).

obligations to your friendship is that correction of sanguineness that I am too apt to fall into. Yet my *belief* is that parties wait—even *parties* (for the *nation* is ready); but to decide by some fortunate event WHICH of them shall have the stars and garters and riches that are to pour down on that set who may produce a restauration. I take the old Jacobite Johnson's spelling. The allies do wonders indeed! I am easy *now*. The struggle is now between France and the muscular force of her enemies. This was not so formerly! and the mental delirium cannot return, I hope and trust.[1]

CXXXV.

16 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of a publication from Mr. Iznardi,[2] consul in Spain, relative to an American vessel stolen by her piratical crew. I shall send on copies to Bremen and Hamburgh by this post for publication, and to London to Mr. King.

I rather believe we shall be quiet here notwithstanding the late appearances to the contrary.

If parties at Paris do come to a crisis, I believe the crisis will be felt by the Directory, entire, unless B[onaparte] gain the army for the whole of the body to whom he belongs. What I mentioned as possible some time since, that the councils will or may make themselves a Convention and put aside the Directory, I understand is yet still more possible; and that it is understood that the army would in such case raise Barras for the purpose of negotiating at Mittau. This is news, or calculation rather, from Paris. It is hardly at all well founded. Much of it, that respecting the councils, I do rely on intelligence worthy of *great* credit. Pray tell me, a Dutchman asks me if in the United States an infant, a young man of fourteen years, can make a will of personal goods, as public funds. I said *no*. I do not form an opinion but on the law of England. Pray do me the favour to give me your short opinion, yes or no. It is believed that the 17, 18, 19, were the severest days this war! As to Peter,[3] we ought all to join in endeavours to obtain a law rendering thirty or forty years necessary in residence to obtain naturalization in the United States, else we shall be inundated after these convulsions. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXXXVI.

18 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Nothing from you yet today.

Their majesties of Paris begin to exercise their sovereignty by mobbing the few as has always been their custom. They attacked

[1] Adams to Murray, July 13, 1779, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 435*n*; Murray to Pickering, July 15, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, July 16, in Adams MSS.

[2] Josef Iznardy, United States consul at Cadiz.

[3] Cobbett.

the Jacobin Club near or in the Tuilleries, but the 17 division show'd and used the bayonet a little, and "*the people*" were obliged to run for it. Talleyrand has a severe time, denounced as he is by pamphlets, Jacobin Clubs, and the councils; but he is supported by Barras, Sieyès and Gohier—(77) 127—and 128 [1] certainly, I believe, or a majority, mean to abolish the 133. The three above are working decidedly against this, and will rather abolish 36. 84 [1] than submit. So my best letters say. If Eschasseriaux's [2] propositions succeed, and all France be thrown into one great camp and each man from 16 to 50 armed, I should expect to see a civil war, which could not last long. E[schasseriaux] has kindly placed the constitutions and *independence! ! !* of the ally'd republics under the safe-guard of France. But as yet we have here no visible changes to effect that generous purpose, except that General Brune has the command entirely of all the forces in this republic. This however was done once in Beurnonville's [3] time I believe. From Paris Mr. Bourne hears that our Envoys are expected in a few weeks, because they say that the assurances had been sent the middle of April, as soon as they read the nominations. T[alleyrand] did not mention a word of this; and if the assurances had been sent, I believe their pride would have withheld duplicates of them. Rey has denounced the Triumvirs "because they forced Turkey and the United States to declare war against France" in the councils. This is something. The silence on it proves it to be but little. Fouché pleasantly enough said, "I have heard of Anarchists here. It is impossible!" They were speaking of the repose of the Dutch character, and as Scholten had been fastened on his ear half an hour I suspect he judged from thence. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. 22d July, 1799. I saw Barlow's letter and am glad he wrote it. If our intellectual faculties receive as I believe much of their correctness and strength from our moral qualities, Citizen Barlow is a much worse man than the author of the "Privileged Orders," [4] though that work had no excellence in it. Literally it is a string of flat re-cooked commonplace from the *Aurora*, and a few of the pieces with which our papers teemed against the B[ritish] treaty. It does honour to the principles it attacks because it comes from a boasted pen. Garat and he agree, both are enemies to the "feudal honour." I mean not the chivalrous trappings, but to the noble and delicate sentiment of honour. He finds it necessary to beat down that pride of good faith which secures a *trust* from violation; he therefore attacks that sentiment as feudal which guards a trust from SEQUESTRATION. John Debry has the same idea in moving for *assassins* in

[1] Undecyphered.
[2] Joseph Eschasseriaux (1753–1823).
[3] Pierre de Ruel Beurnonville (1752–1821).
[4] "Advice to the Privileged Orders in Europe," 1792.

1792—*expressly!* It is in fact a new proof that those who would be Jacobins must consent to loosen the ties of morality before a basis can be laid for their systems.

Parties here are less violent and the cloud seems past, but they do fear I believe an invasion. They make great preparation to repel it if attempted. A line of redoubts from Meyden towards Grep is getting ready. A telegraph is erected near Schevelling to correspond with others on the coast, and the requisition has filled amazingly; but desertion from even old troops on the frontier presents a serious symptom of the moral state of the defensive measures and subjects.

The new comers into power have a good opportunity of throwing the blame upon the Ex-directors (except the author of the speech to Munro!![1]) respecting our affairs, and of professing moderation and sincerity with a better grace; but who can judge of such men! *We* shall defeat you, I see. So you had better follow the general F. of Turin, and capitulate on terms at once. By a letter which my secretary received of 2 June it seems that the United Irish are exceedingly riotous and *caballing* at Philadelphia. We ought to hold up the necessity of a new naturalization law; but that would not do unless a score or two of such fellows be driven from the United States! I envy you your Dresden jaunt. I hear they are the happiest people in Europe, but do not know it. I was sick the last post, and am still so. I hope that your tour will help to re-establish Mrs. Adams's health. LaFayette insists on going in September to America. I shall try to dissuade him. He is a little alarmed at Vianen. Yours dear sir, etc., etc.[2]

CXXXVII.

25 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You see that my letters pursue you to Dresden, where as you will be among strangers, I hope they will be more relishing though intrinsically flat.

Nine days since the world was invited to dine with our new brother Fouché de Nantes for to-morrow, to be sure the 9th Thermidor! Four days since he was recalled to Paris where he will be minister of police, and we lose the rare French cookery, and the poignant gooseberry sauce of his countenance, at once! Judging from the last, he will make an excellent minister of police in so corrupt a city as Paris, for he seems alert, and exceedingly bilious. It is said and believed that the present ruling passion of our poor friends, that of giving money, has been worked on to the extent of two millions of florins; but all on honor, as the girls of pleasure say, when they borrow—a loan! So he carries off a neat little sum with him for his govern-

[1] Barras.

[2] Murray to Pickering, July 20,23, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, July 21, 23 (from Dresden), in Adams MSS.

ment, for every farthing of this is to be sacredly devoted to the cause of dear human nature and liberty! The worthy successor of this industrious minister will be Citizen Florent Guiot,[1] a gentleman well known to the Grisons lately. It is the fate of our friends often to have new ministers from that quarter, and their misfortune to pay several thousands of Holland current as a present as a souvenir to each on his adieu, and to expect the successor with many alarms! On this occasion I doubt if they have cause of much alarm, if they would look at the relative state of Europe, and I should think also that France had no directions to revolutionise them because of his sudden departure. If he had had such intention, he would not have been recalled in thirteen days; for in that time, a man fit for such things would have begun the under part of his work, and his recall would discourage those intrusted with the parts, and would perplex the plot.

Chs. Maurice Talleyrand has resigned, and his resignation been accepted. The papers say that Rheinhart [2] goes into his place, he who was at Florence lately, and not long since at Hamburgh.

The taking of Bologna is a blow upon the French. Their late losses since 18 ulto., exclusive of Turin, are immense—at least 14,000 men out of 37,000, including Moreau and N. D. armies. The critical moment seems to me to be that in which, supposing Moreau's and Masséna's armies driven within, the combined armies will look into the frontier of France! Will Saxony furnish her contingent of men? I am truly yours, my dear sir.[3]

CXXXVIII.

30 July, 1799.

Dear Sir: Some letters from America hold up an idea which I can not accede to, viz. that the late nomination is to have no suite, that nothing will come of it. In Paris they have or pretend to have the same idea. So Mount[florence] says, who has just returned from Paris whence he was ordered; but as he left his wife, I believe he thinks he will be able to return. This perpetual hankering after Paris, and I do not know that he has fortune, and his wife having gone in January three months before he went, is a marvellous thing to me, and seems at least imprudent. As to me *I* hear nothing like this from the United States. My papers are up to 3 June, but my letters, duplicates, as old as 24 April, and can not believe it. It is impossible, unless the change be authorized by some late discovered treachery on their part—that of France. The papers say that P. Henry is elected into the State Legislature; Mr. Ellsworth

[1] Guyot de Saint-Florent, known during the Revolution as Florent Guyot (1755–1834).
[2] Charles Frédéric Reinhard (1761–1837).
[3] Adams to Murray, July 26, 30 (from Töplitz), in Adams MSS.

on the South Carolina circuit. They calculate securing, at least, federalists in the next Congress.

A serious struggle will probably come on between the Direc'y and the Jacobins at Paris. The ancients are alarmed at the vicinity of the manège and will expel them. The *people* in such case would then be ready enough to mob them as they would be out of the scene guarded by the military. They talk here of jealousies between Great Britian and Austria. I see the king of England makes no mention in his speech of *Austria*—much of Russia; but I believe not in a *partial* peace, as R[ussia] is in the war. In haste I am, always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CXXXIX.

Rec. Aug. 17.
Ans. Aug. 20. 2 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: They seriously prepare here against an invasion. On the 14th ultimo a sort of reconciliation took place in a fête and over the bottle between the violents and moderates. Some patriots who had been imprisoned last summer and last autumn were liberated. The military arrangements of every sort are in great forwardness, and General Brune, who a few days since (Sunday) announced himself as commander in chief of the ally'd troops, will have 40,000 men to oppose to the British—that at least. We cannot hear with certainty if Russians are to be with British troops; if they are not, the *ancient Bataves* will probably Ostend them, for though there be discontents here, yet they can not rise to energy!

Courtois[1] in the Councils denounced that the Jacobins of the Club Manège had resolved to have the heads of two of the Directory turn out the other three and convert the two councils into a Convention! On this the Ancients turned the blooddrinkers out of the Manège which is in their jurisdiction, and these resorted like the chased fox to their first bed, the church of the Jacobins.

The formal act of accusation by the 500 against the four ex-directors is very important. How can Barras avoid the vortex on the edge of which that trial must at every charge bring him? It must render him odious, for their acts are indivisible, and give the Jacobins in his fall power over the whole of the Directory. Is it possible to proceed ceremoniously with so august a trial as this ought to be, and at the same time wage war on the frontier? Or is the trial itself not a mode of convulsion considered as favourable to what they call "the revival of public spirit." I can not imagine a society so abandoned to the unsocial as France, so plunged, so disunited, so destitute of resources for self government as a body politic! It is impossible, I think, that it can last. WHAT *will* be

[1] Edme-Bonaventure Courtois (1750–1816).

its cure can not be seen; but they are ripe I believe for an extreme change.

I ought to tell you that in the last *Publiciste* your treaty [1] is spoken of as very favourable to Prussian interests in respect to Silesia linens. As they would like doubtless to aid their *party* by hints against your treaty—for anything to divide suits them—I mention this, that you may know that some one at Paris has got hold of that point, and of course you will take care of your details, if any may be necessary, to be sent to our friends on that point.

Did I mention in my last what Mr. King tells me? Patrick Henry's death![2]

Here we have Mr. Florent Gyot. He called on me yesterday at 7, first visit, left no card, but came in, and took tea—a thin dark man of forty, and something like Gallatin.

We have a new third in the legislature here, *four* days since—mixed. Belgium, Mountflorence tells me, is quiet though reports say otherwise.

The French troops in Tuscany and the Genoese are in a bad way. However it is *ungenerous* to bring up such ideas! so I have done. I find a prodigious quantity of heavyness in this letter, particularly when I consider you to be now in the purer air of Dresden! Yours, dear sir, always.

The late orders of Sweden and Denmark to exclude all privateers is a good thing and will help our northern trade for it can not exclude our letters of marque. I wish that all neutrals at each war would exclude all privateers, and also *all* prizes.

CXL.

6 AUGUST, 1799.

You will perceive, my dear sir, that I am still where you left me, as I find by your air and breathing that you are not at Berlin, but in better air, and have had the benefit of exhilarating scenery. Yes, the sensations of a man getting from smoke and din and dirt into the country, are delicious. One is young again, and if I know you, I believe that like myself you occasionally require that sort of toying and caressing of the mind which it seems always to me to enjoy on these occasions. These excursions when made alone with one's wife are indeed extremely sweet, and I rejoice that while we groan under the lookout for invasion, you are rummaging up country antiquities and bracing you and Mrs. A. with more pleasant images. Mynheer looks very bold however, the troops are numerous, and the season advances. I doubt if Bull will try without the aid of *brother* BRUIN his skill here.

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[1] Signed July 11, 1799.

[2] Died June 6, 1799.

At Paris things go on. The great want is only in money, arms, and enthusiasm; on these there is stagnation! It is believed that the combined fleets have again escaped the British fleet and are, or will be, out into the ocean by this time.

The Ship *Camilla*, from Texel for Boston on 27 June, retook an American vessel from Bremen which a French privateer had taken two days before. The pirates plundered all they could get at and beat the captain cruelly—the *Camilla* 16 guns and 50 men, Captain Sword, of Boston. St. Domingo seems preparing for our trade, by our papers. A Mr. Taylor, long a prisoner with Sands in the Temple, has just arrived and waits for me down stairs. You will excuse this short letter. Make my congratulations to Mrs. Adams in the best Saxon manner, which I am told is the politest of all Germany. Dear sir, truly yours always.

CXLI.

9 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The proclamation of this government some days since, and the letter of Schimmelpenninck to T[alleyrand] complaining of the calumnies printed at Paris against the government here, will give an air of agitation to the interior of this country which it has not. No resistance is made to the conscription; all is quiet. If there are HOPES, they are very silent and sullen. It is true, I now believe, that the combined fleets have got into the ocean. This is very mysterious. I could suppose that it were a policy that might be defended, on the ground of Italian affairs, to avoid an uncertain combat in the Mediterranean; but that policy ceases, if it be true that Great Britain and Russia have troops ready to embark on the channel. To let these fleets out, just now, must of course be unsound policy, I think. It can hardly be expected that the expedition would now take place.

From Paris I see little indeed either of great party measures or of great national measures! Terror which could alone collect taxes and make muskets with the quickness of the Cyclops, would also cut throats, destroy the Directory, and overturn formally the constitution. The powers left in the machine, without that, seem too feeble to trust to.

By a letter night before last I hear that (but it is from a lady) T[alleyrand] said to M. D[upont] de N[emours] that, "Were I in Paris now I should not be received," and that a great sensation is made by the situation into which St. Domingo seems sliding. But this is lady's news; as is also that Genet is at Paris, just arrived.

Genet must get out of the way the moment you touch upon Bohemian mountains, ruinated castles, steeps, and "antics deep." You see I have had the pleasure of your 58 this moment, and have just landed you and Mrs. Adams at the foot of the mountains. I had rather be with you on this occasion than at Paris, or even in the "hey-

day of the French vintage"!! Lofty feelings are felt in those grand and gigantic works of nature where humility is inspired by the relative insignificance of self; but in this country there is no competitor, but some envious tree, to the strut of a being full 5 feet ten by the rule! And you look over a creation that is man—if there be dignity in it, it is a dignity that is made up like all great sums by a calculation upon the repeated strokes of the spade and the labourer, and all the results of reasoning are diminutive in their effects on the mind, compared with the sudden expansion produced by the senses on the exhibition of grand nature. But I must defend that castle which you call the *robber castle*—so irreverently—of chivalry! I thought you were a true knight. However the works are too decay'd and as *lofty feelings* can not keep their flight long I must give it up, and modestly return to a draught I am making of the *t'Schep rat*—water-throwing mill, so common, so essential in this country. I have bespoken a model of this mill three feet high which will be extremely useful in the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where we have rich swamps in some places lower than the neighboring rivers. Possibly also this model may obtain me a seat in the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, if its members chance to hear of it!

I pray you, my dear sir, to continue your letters; for though I might perhaps be quite easy if the excellence of your pen were *confined* to political development, yet I forgive you for the pleasure which your letters give me even out of that walk. If Mrs. Adams sketches, she will prize any memoranda which this excursion may leave upon her papers, many years hence, and so would you. Yours, dear sir, always.[1]

CXLII.

15 August, 1799.

Dear Sir: I go to Leyden tomorrow morning to meet M. La Fayette who has requested to meet me somewhere. We have lately written about his voyage to the United States—I to dissuade him. General W[ashington] wrote to him in December dissuading him *neatly;* but he writes me he will go, and be quiet at Mount Vernon!

You shall now have all I know. Bourne writes me that young Van Swinden left a note containing an extract from a letter he received from Paris, "That Mr. Van Polanen had written to Mr. Schimmelpenninck"—What a Flani-nami-nihilitipication of a name, when one is in haste as I am!—to wit "that the American government did not mean to send the other two Envoys, until some preliminary change should take place in the affairs of the French privateers. And that in the interim the orders were not relaxed for the capture of French vessels by American ships, and begs Mr.

[1] Murray to Pickering, August 12, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, August 13, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 437*n*.

S[chimmelpenninck] so to inform his government." I know nothing of this. But *entre nous*, from various things I do begin to doubt. When they hear of the late blow, the surrender of Mantua, added to the other doings of Suwarrow, they will, I can perceive, be *as* sanguine at least as I have been!

The Russian minister at Copenhagen has certainly availed himself of the Baltic armament to demand a very categoric answer to a demand made, I believe, the ninth, "Whether Denmark would enter into the coalition against France?" Gave a day to reply. It was prolonged to three by an interview with Count Bernstorff. The *estafette* set off to this government on the 10, and came here the 14th. It is probable that both Sweden and Denmark had rather fight Russia than France at present.

I am so desperate in my hopes that all your cold water in 59.[1] can not extinguish them. Things must come to the end which all men seem to expect here—in France!

The Hereditary Prince was some days since at Lingen with some officers. It spread some stir here, but no movement of bodies. It is said the King of P[russia] recalled him—a thing I can not credit, but it has an effect here.

We are quiet, and the government feels, or says so, bold—if the English come.

Last post I had an unexpected interruption and did not write. It was contrary to my wishes, as I like writing to you in your Bohemian wilds more than in a carpeted city. One thinks more intensely about friends among mountains. From this excursion you will years hence enjoy many a "*winter's evening tale*," though you will correct Shakespeare's geography, who gives Bohemia a fine sea shore. You see I ought to end my dull letter. Yours, my dear sir, always.

CXLIII.

Rec. Aug. 31.
Ans. Aug. 31.

19 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen M. La F[ayette], for the second time. I believe I have told you that I have very often in my correspondence represented to him a thousand things to indispose him from his intended voyage. He seems, or talks as if, undecided, but I believe he will go, as he has requested a passport of me. As I know that General W[ashington] had written to him a letter which he received I think in April to dissuade him, I have written to our great and good General, telling him of my interviews and of all I knew on this subject, and even sent a press copy of my last letter to M. La Fayette to him.[2] He is, however, *really* distressed now. The appearances of

[1] His letter of July 30.

[2] Not in the Washington MSS.

war in Denmark and Sweden, and of an invasion here, make him think very seriously of an asylum; but I think he would be safe here in all events, or not assailable here till things were so altered in his own country as to give him more latitude to seek his fortune. I still urged everything in my invention that I thought proper to prevent his voyage. He is graver than he was; Still however seems to think and talk as *a* PUBLIC character whose course was important. Hence my fears of his ambition. He seems as if he thought himself to belong to a certain system, less than to those cares and family affairs which indeed so many thousand good men belong to and attend to. He is a very pleasing and a very interesting man, and with his reputation and popular manners will have an influence in the present twenty years to come, anywhere and especially among those who living constantly under a "foolish look of praise" are tickled by the thoughts and confidence of a distinguished character. He avows to me explicitly federalism, and a support of our government, and abhorrence of the conduct of France towards it and our nation. He avows that he does not wish to see our government more democratic, nor less aristocratic. I aver that I believe him sincere, but I think that I know his character—his ambition—too well not to fear that should he go, he will think that he finds reasons to change his tone. Just now, when every dispute must recall his natural feelings as a Frenchman, and when the state of things affords such temptation to demagogue ambition, had I discovered that his theories had been even shaken by this terrible ten years of anarchy, I should not think him too democratic in his doctrines for us. He is not democratic, he is royalist of '91; but he is ambitious, uncorrected by experience, and has exactly that talk forever of *les principes*, les principes that belong to the new school which has set the world on fire.

Denmark I understand will not be pushed more. Here is much activity. We had it three days since that eighty transports left Deal seven days since; but if the British squadron be, as is believed, yet confined in the Mediterranean by west winds, the politics of even the Baltic may be affected and the expedition from England suspended. The combined fleets are in Brest to refresh. Mantua and Alexandria both are in the hands of the ally'd army, and Tortona and Conti must soon fall. These iron men and the Germans indeed have made a brilliant campaign. The Jacobins are (so I hear) arrested at Paris, and their club shut up. Marbot,[1] the commander of the 17th division, was dismissed at eleven at night the same night. Yours, my dear sir.

Have you seen Suwarrow's Proclamation to the French nation [*from*] Louis 18.[2]

[1] Antoine Marbot (1750–1800). [2] Adams to Murray, August 13 (from Töplitz) in Adams MSS.

CXLIV.

23 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Things are becoming critical here. The British transports, 80, left the Downs the 13th and have been *signed* off this coast 18th and 19. Yesterday 150 sail were seen from Texel and a courier brought the news here. Immediately orders were given to the military to be ready. Large bodies of them marched off in the night and many passed this house—sweethearts crying and bidding adieux at three in the morning. It is thought the landing will be at Delfzijl (mouth of the Ems), in the Lauwers Zee, Friesland, and in Zeeland. Government thinks of going to Amsterdam, to Zealand, and to Utrecht. Again there is *some* reason to think that an arrangement may take place before blows. It must be apparent that France can not support them, and unless they do, the contest is very unequal between this divided nation and two such powers as Great Britain and Russia. An arrangement would be useful to Great Britain, as it would liberate her whole force for some other point. Unless an arrangement do take place there will be most ruinous proceedings. Half the republic may be inundated, the passions will be bitter, and if hard pushed the violents may consider the ruin of the country as next best to its defence! The councils were in session late last night and all is bustle here.

It is remarkable that at the Texel for some days flags have past and repast, expresses always coming off for this place after each boat's arrival.

The fleet of L. Keith[1] has escaped from the Mediterranean, and the combined fleets are in Brest. A peace with the king of Hungary and Bohemia[2] through Jacobi[3] is talked of. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.[4]

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.[5]

Private. THE HAGUE, *28 Aug., 1799.*

DEAR SIR, I am exceedingly obliged and flattered even by the very letter in which you frankly condemn my opinion; as I perceive the difference has not deprived me of your regard. It is a painful thing to be thus situated. You, sir, have this great advantage in forming your opinions. Much of the ground on which any plan of the sort, would rest, is before you, at Philadelphia and in the United States, consisting of present opinions, and of facts that do not reach me. I can judge but by the *acts* of Congress, and indeed on so very serious a business I must still think that to rest opinions on any other state of things than these is hazardous in the extreme. From these acts

[1] George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith (1746–1823).
[2] Francis I, as Francis II the last Roman Emperor (1768–1835).
[3] N. Jacobi-Klaest (–1817).
[4] Murray to Pickering, August 28, 1799 in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, August 24, in Adams MSS.
[5] From the Pickering MSS.

then, sir, I judged. Except the dissolution of treaties, I recollect no great measure but what looked to even a *speedy negociation!* my reason for so thinking is because they are *temporary, limited* acts, of course not evidence of systematic hostility, but provisional remedies. The more you turn that idea about, you will find that in its application in practice and to official duty, it forbad any permanent course of proceeding in the executive, and of course carry'd with it an obligation as well to things *not to be omitted*, as to do what was expected to be committed to fulfill the injunctions of those and to correspond with the only policy on which they seem to be founded, viz., a speedy negociation on honourable terms, and honourably commenced. If this is not the sense of them, considered as a basis of the official conduct of the executive, they are very impolitic things, for I doubt if ever any executive will be found, when the war power is in the legislature, who will act as if permanent means were put in his hands, when neither the war power nor any measures but temporary ones are actually and officially in him. Individuals will form various views of what is best, what is expected, to be done or omitted to be done, but he must measure both what he does and what he omits by what is officially in his power correspondent to the nature of the business, and this business was of a permanent nature, viz., the injuries of France, and a state of war, and yet his means were exactly adapted to a temporary resentment. I can find no motive except the expectation of a speedy negociation, to account for the limited character of the measures of resentment! Congress alone could have done that which could prevent what this writer calls a "recoiling of government," an alteration in the course of a government which is impelled, not by inconsistency, but by the force of things, can not be called a recoiling. Was there inconsistency in this measure? if there were it is a recoiling. On the contrary the inconsistency will be found in the federal men who had it in their power to render this *unnecessary*, and in the federal men who applauded similar proceedings of yesterday and condemn this to day. Those who call this a recoiling, because it is improper to treat at all, are convinced by events of too old a date—every word is true that shows the perfidy and danger of France with all with whom she treats. But did not these gentlemen know all this three, two, one year since! Did they not, notwithstanding, applaud or seem to applaud, every step of both Presidents for years back, which had advanced in vain to negociation! Well, after all the fresh insults and redoubled convictions did they do anything which would finish this wavering state, between war and wishes for negociation? Yes the cruizing act, one of the best, and the suspension of commerce act, another of the best, were adopted to show resentment, but it was not war according to the constitution, it put the election with France, and as, if I remember well, all these acts were temporary, *and not*

war, I conclude they expected negociation, or they would have been fixed and concurrent with a more steady resentment.

Mr. T. B. Adams was kind enough to send me part of *the piece* last month, and one other friend informed me that it spoke the opinions of the federal and best men. As I was handled without much ceremony in this piece I immediately wrote to Mr. T. B. Adams my opinion of the piece and of the federal opinions if there expressed. I received his letter the last of July or first inst. and wrote I remember to him the 3d inst. However I do lament this situation, afflicting to me, and mortify'd as I am that a friend should have publicly given his estimate of myself in this way; as I know that my name must come forward to criticism I have made up my mind to it. I stand before my conscience that I did act without hope of promotion and did for the best. The state of Europe and the then state of my native country ought however to be well considered as cotemporary with my share in this business, else it is not a fair trial.

Things are now changed! but every man is to be judged and every measure estimated agreeably to the obligations, probabilities and policy AT THE TIME of his acting, or of its adoption. All the ministers of state in the United States and in Europe must be so judged. You have *all*, yes every one, felt the *expediency* of public measures very strong at the moment when you all revolted in every feeling. Genl. P[inckney]'s two embassies, Lord Malmsbury's two, Rastadt, all show that truth. Be assured, sir, that I shall in all possible situations consider *your letter and opinions as personally secret*,[1] directly and indirectly, and a new proof of your friendship. I am affectionately, dear sir, yours with perfect respect.

CXLV.

Rec. Sept. 12.
Ans. Sept. 14. 30 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I missed writing last post. We are at last in the neighborhood of a theatre of war. The British fleet of transports which, in number 150, summoned Story,[2] the Dutch Admiral, on the 20th inst., since has made good its landing on the 25th at Petten, the only approachable place on account of water. 12,000 landed on that beach at 5 P. M., covered by a range of cannon-boats.[3] The action was, it is said, hot and well sustained by the Bataves—no French. Daendels commanded, and has a ball in his boot. Some valuable officers fell, among others Col. Luke of the foot chasseurs, Dutch. The British made good their landing and kept their position near the shore. Daendels kept his at Schagentrug and in front. It

[1] Cypher.
[2] Samuel Story.
[3] This landing and its consequences receive quite detailed notice in Bielfeld's dispatches to his government, printed in "Gedenkstukken, 1798–1801," 252.

is doubtful if Daendels had more than 10,000 men, 3000 being at the Helder in the batteries and to protect them. For though the buoys are removed from the Helder and Texel they justly feared that the British fleet would push in and take the fleet in the New Deap. Daendels, it is said, but not officially, has taken a measure extremely desperate. He has sunk two or three ships in the man-of-war channel of the Texel! He justly foresaw I suppose that he could not keep his position at Schagentrug, and that the British would be masters of the Helder and turn the batteries. This actually took place on the 28th, their force augmenting to about 15,000. Little official detail is given, and all we know is that the event is so.

One demonstration is made out by all the treason and false accounts we have had for eight days—and they have often been very extravagant. There will be no conceit between the Orangists and the invaders. Reception, and a joyful one, there will be; but it will be given to a triumphant army only.

In the meantime government really stand erect, and apparently tranquil. Some of the softer civil legislators boast a little, and utter very blustering wishes that 20,000 would land at once! The second division has not yet arrived; and if a violent east wind should come on, and the French force be drawn that way, it would place the British in a very awkward situation. No Russians yet that we can hear of. Probably they and the 2d division may land at Delfzijl on the mouth of the Ems. If they should, and the British being masters of the Texel penetrate thence into the Zuyder Zee and advantage themselves of all its points of attack, the game I think would be over for all the country to the Rhine. They fear for Zealand—but observe France's kindness: Flushing is half hers, and all Zealand becomes an object of her maternal sympathies. I understand she has 5,000 of her own troops in Zealand.

Brune is not at the scene yet; it may be that he reserves himself for the hardest act of the drama. *Me deus intersit.* But I conjecture that it was the policy of the French to have a fair experiment made of the fidelity of DOUBTED troops. As yet no desertion, I believe. Dear sir, affectionately yours always.[1]

CXLVI.

Rec. Sept. 12.
Ans. Sept. 14. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Night before last the news came that the fleet under Story, which on the evacuation of the Helder had retired within, near the Island of Wieringen, had surrendered. This is not official, but official men believe it. The British brought sixteen of the line up, Story

[1] Adams to Murray, August 31, 1799, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 436*n*; September 3, in Adams MSS.

had six. So dissatisfy'd are they with Daendels's mistakes that a commission, consisting of Mr. Van Hooff, Director, Van Hal,[1] Van der Vein, warm patriots, Pompe van Meerweit[2] and Bosch, moderates of the councils, with Mr. Pijman, Minister of War, set off at five yesterday morning for the army, which stretches from sea to ocean by Schermerhorn, Alkmaar and to Egmondaan Zee. But it is possible that they may find it expedient to *treat*—if the fleet is gone. And as the British are masters of the Zuyder Zee, and of course the whole plan of defence overturned for Frieseland, Groningen, Overyssel and Gelderland, the Republic is gone, and the government must go to Dort or Breda in ten days. If they can drive Abercrombie from the Helder, things are better for them; but this they cannot do. If the 2d division be come, of which we can hear nothing—Brune went day before yesterday—he has 7000 French and 13 Dutch. But Dumonceau[3] from Groningen with 6000 men will not be able to cross the Zuyder from Lemmer, and Abercrombie I believe has 20,000 men independently of the 2d division. In fact we seem reeling towards the same fall that has attended the other affiliated republics. *France's* offspring prosper not!

Better health to you, my dear sir. Yours truly always.[4]

CXLVII.

6 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I am almost fatigued to death with the strange passiveness of these politicians. Abercrombie must by this day have thirty three or four thousand men near the Helder; his headquarters at Schagentrug, where Daendels's lately were. General Brune has 25,000, of which 19,000 are Bataves. The fleet, seven of the line, surrendered by a mutiny to the English on Monday night, 2d inst. The French promise to do them the favour of sending 50 or 60,000 men, which they dread, as they will have to cloathe pay arm and feed them. They see that their little country will be the seat of war, that half of it is under the power of the English by the possession of the Zuyder Zee, or at least all their defence belonging to the possession of that important water overturned, and Amsterdam liable at any moment to the bomb ketches of their enemy. They as good as own the republic lost! And yet they bluster in the councils. And though I suspect that they pant for a capitulation, and though they have great means to offer to the Prince—royalty, which includes essentially the unity and indivisible principle, and which would overturn the States and change the lead of the sovereignty to where it ought to be in Europe, and I believe by a timely offer might obtain a representative branch and perfect amnesties—yet nothing of this sort tending to an arrange-

[1] Maurits Cornelis van Hall.
[2] A. Pompe van Meerdervoort.
[3] Jean-Baptiste Dumonceau (1760-1821).
[4] Pickering to Murray September 4 1799, in Pickering MSS.

ment is attempted or thought of I believe by any person authorized to think effectually of it.

The Director Van Hooff I believe returned last night from the army. An interview took place the 3d between Brune and General Don and his aid at Alkmaar; nothing known of the result. A courier left this from government day before yesterday for Berlin, for explanation of some appearances hostile—at least not neutral—from Münster—100 Orangists armed it is said—but I believe also to know what you can do for them in the present difficulty, and to search means of arrangement. Some members are so full of phlegm and piety as to think that the assent of the primary assemblies is necessary to disengage them from their trust, and that the assemblies might do as they please! This too when probably the government will be forced to move to Dort, or Breda in ten days. Already many have packed up and sent off. But *France* is pushing into Germany, and round to Coni! What eccentric violence. I hope you are recovered. My dear sir, yours truly [1]

CXLVIII.

Rec. Sept. 24.
Ans. Sept. 25. 13 September, 1799.

Dear Sir: On the tenth General Brune attacked Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the morning. The French 7000 on the left attacked the British right at Petten and carry'd some works. Dumonceau (a Brabant French officer in the Dutch service) in the centre also attacked and carry'd some redoubts, which it is believed were permitted to be carry'd as they led him into masqued batteries. Daendels on the right did not much, it is said. Dumonceau was driven back with terrible carnage, and the left wing also with equal loss from Petten. Thus the day was with the English all hollow—General David of the French, a very distinguished and able commander, lost his arm by a cannon shot and is wounded in the head—supposed mortally. No Russians in action! The sensation was very great here.

This moment I have your 63 [August 31.] From your 62 [August 24] I hope that the ague has left you. Last post I could not thank you for it—and now I am pressed for time. One thing important I can tell you of, though it relates to Berlin, of which you probably may not have heard. There is I believe strong reason to think that P[russia] has demanded of France to evacuate the Cleves and Guelder country, and 2dly to evacuate this republic; that France has reply'd as to the 1st, it is an article proper for a general peace, and to be then talked of; as to the 2d, this was an independent republic, and so long as it chose to employ French troops in it, they should remain. And that on this the Prussian troops moved at Ham to Rees and at Wesel

[1] Adams to Murray, September 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.

on the 10th inst. Whether they will push in I am not so certain as that the demand was made. General Schladen commands 16,000 of them, however, and it is secretly understood he will cross the Rhine as on yesterday—for Cleves.

All quiet in the interior here.

The French are again very formidable, perhaps Masséna has 110,000 men. If Prussia do not interfere and France drive out the Anglo-Russians which I do not expect, NOW France will take the remains of the Batavians and her army from hence, and will be very strong on the Prussian frontier. I believe she is preparing for an eventual quarrel with Prussia. Dear Sir, truly yours always, etc., etc., etc.

I have some time since sent some remarks to your brother on a piece which a friend sent me from Porcupine's paper on the nomination. *As the* SENSE *of the* FEDERAL MEN GENERALLY, in which I am ridiculed. Very pleasant! no doubt, Mr. Puff. Yes, exceedingly agreeable to be thus held up.

CXLIX.

11 A. M., 20 SEPTEMBER, '99.

DEAR SIR: Since I sent my letter to the post, the intelligence has come that yesterday the Russians attacked the French. At first they forced them to retreat, but at one A. M. General Brune says in his letter which I have seen to Mr. Guyot, the French pushed them back and made prisoners. Another letter one-half past two, states the victory with the French and two thousand prisoners. At six in the evening, he says two thousand Russians killed and 2000 prisoners, with General Hermann, Russian, prisoner—who complained that the English had kept in their intrenchments—and General Essen, a Russian also, prisoner. Brune says the prisoners appeared to consider death and the guillotine as certain on their falling into the hands of the French. 20 pieces of cannon. This is General Brune's account. Mr. Guyot's Secretary came on purpose to tell me!! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CL.

20 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The intelligence respecting Prussia was probably, as far as it related to Holland, premature, and ought to have been limited to a demand for the evacuation of Guilder (Prussian) and the country of Cleves.

We are surprised at the inactivity of Abercrombie, his force probably at least 40,000, including certainly 5000 Russians, and it is believed that by the arrival of the 2d division of these, 13,000. Perhaps he acts in concert with the Arch Duke and Suwarrow.

There is reason to believe that *France* is suspicious of this Directory. Brune is in fact the sole power of efficiency here. This has

been shown in some late instances. He goes by the orders of his own government. We have *all*, as I believe even government has also, been deceived, as to the numbers of French in this republic. 18,000 or 20,000 were believed to be *certainly* here. In fact on the 11th inst. there were but 10,000 in all: 1600 in all Zealand, a few in Bois le Duc, Bergen op Zoom, Grave, etc., etc.; 120 here, and 7000 with General Brune.

At Paris once more exists a great heat and some motion. Jourdan's motion to declare the country in danger, equivalent to a conventional state and committees and Jacobinism, the unexpected dismission of Bernadotte and La Febre,[1] and the open Town-Jacobins threats against Sieyès and Barras, concur to excite expectation; but I have been so often misled by such appearances that, in lieu of doubts guided by the actual state of things, I have a stubbornness against such expectations from the past.

From the eastern parts of the union we hear there was no yellow fever up to the 1 August, and no public talk of a successor to Mr. Henry. I doubt if the President can or will name one provisionally. He constitutionally may, but this is a vacancy in a post so distant that it would be difficult to find a person settled in life in the United States who would accept, to whom the President would offer it.

By two New York papers as late as 17 June, I see that in several ports they go on with a noble ardor in building fine ships of war. Upon the whole, this career in Europe, if the great Devil can be chained, will turn out a good thing for the United States in many respects—in fortifying the Constitution, in organising *power;* for without this necessity and impulse, the veins and arteries traced by the sketch of the constitution would else not have been filled with living blood and powers of life—perhaps never.

Nothing has yet resulted from the plan which I mentioned to you lately. If anything do, you shall hear. It is however in trial.

Yours, dear sir, always.[2]

CLI.

Rec. Oct. 7.
Ans. Oct. 8. 27 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the 23d I went to Amsterdam and missed the post of 24th. I went to receive some certificates and duplicates of the six per cents, which remained unsold of that mass which was sent in 1795, 20,000 florins only remained. These I am to send to the Treasury of the United States. Tell me, if you please, when I am ordered to receive such things and give receipts for them, and from the nature of the thing a journey to Amsterdam is absolutely necessary, am I to charge the expense of the journey to government? I have done so on account of the discharged bonds which I received

[1] François-Joseph Lefebvre (1755-1820). [2] Adams to Murray, September 22, 25, 1799, in Adams MSS.

last November, and brought with me in the night boat to this place. The price of the three boxes, porterage, transport, etc., etc., and my expences going and while there, two nights—these are mighty minute things; but indeed 130 florins now and 75 then to me, who can but just make both ends meet, here, are as well in my pocket as in the Treasury. Yet I would not do what is *unexpected*, on money affairs particularly. A hint confidentially from you will settle my doubts, though I have charged the first already.

What I hastily wrote you on Saturday is pretty near the truth; not 2000 Russians taken, but 900, really taken *prisoners*. A mistake in the guide who led the column of 6000 to the left instead of the right as he was ordered, was the cause of confusion. The right had brought them into the Downs, and on the left flanc of the French; but the left road carry'd them into the wood of Bergen and into the very pith of the French force batteries. They were surrounded in the wood, between three and four hundred killed and wounded, and 900 taken—some of these wounded, as they had been taught, it is said, to consider death as unavoidable if taken. The British lost about 300 prisoners killed and wounded. On the left Abercrombie pushed Daendels' wing round to Pancross near Alkmaar, and it would seem as if the plan had been to make that the great attack. For if the right of the Russians had not been confused and gone further than is believed to have been the plan, General B[rune] must have either attacked Petten—he failed there the 10th—or have retreated to Beverwijk; for Abercrombie was pressing their right very hard, when the intelligence reached him that the right wing was in confusion. He then fell back to his old position.

It is believed that the loss of French and Dutch equals at least that of the Anglo-Russians. Both have received reinforcements, and both are as yet inactive since the 19th. The French expected an attack yesterday. If not attacked, it is their intention to give the attack today or tomorrow. They will by tomorrow have received 3000 French troops more! At Amsterdam, which I left the 25th all is tranquil, and one must be very active and inquisitive to discover that there is a field of battle within twenty-five miles of it. No one appears to be informed of anything but what he sees, and all I could get there was that 900 Russians had occupy'd the Wester Kirk, and had quarreled with the English prisoners in the same church—these were Middlesex militia. All agree that the appearance of these men called Russians, Tartars, etc., etc., has done much to remove the terror which their Name had spread; that they are neither large nor strong nor well looking men. They however fought well and with impetuous valor, but much of the circumstance of terror is removed—grisly beards, broad shoulders, and hardy aspects, and unknown modes of killing. There is here as usual great talk of Prussia,

I beg you to see Mr. Vos Van Steenwijk.[1] *His real* object is to *invite the king to* demand a *surrender to the* [2] Prince as royal hereditary executive, with a chamber of representatives and an independent judiciary, in concert with 150. The *ostensible* business is different, and the secret pact is not known even to *all of them here.* This I tell you in strict personal and exclusive confidence. You may have it in your power to *aid.*

You are probably by this at Berlin. I could but think of those intimate friendships which you have formed for the mountains of Bohemia, while I was pulled along the canal between Amsterdam—bless its gilded mud—and Haarlem, where by the favour of the municipality I obtained a two-wheel chaise and pair for Leyden. For all is in requisition, rooms of the Golden Fleece for the members of the Departmental body, and the horses for the army. . . . Yours always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[3]

CLII.

Rec. Oct. 12.
Ans. Oct. 15. 1 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: Night before last I was present at a very precious scene at the Club between the Director Van Hooff and Mr. Florent Guyot, the French Minister. In the late action, 19th, 900 Russians and 250 English were made prisoners, and I think not wounded, but able to travel; five flags were also taken, three by the Dutch in the center, and two by the French on the left. All these, my dear sir, have been sent off to France, the General Hermann and the colours (among which is said to be one of Suwarrow's regiment!) without a word to this government, *in whose pay,* clothing, equipment and feeding, the whole French army is. This made as it ought a greater sensation among the violent patriots even than anything that has happened, in my time, Pijman, Minister at War had provided accommodations for the prisoners in different cities and so wrote General Brune, designating these places. He got no answer. B[rune] always *will* write to the *Directory,* in spite of their orders to the contrary, which are to write to their Minister.

Night before last I went at nine to the Club (a Societat) not a debating place; but I got nothing but smoke, till at eleven, going out, Mr. Guyot called to me, begging me to wait for him as he was going. I went to where he and Van Hooff had long been chatting lowly and then were. I soon heard the word prisoners "often repeated." V. H. began to raise his voice, both raised; the affair was a bitter and angry remonstrance on the part of V. H. on account of the prisoners being sent away and particularly against the consent of government, the insult and injustice of this, and misconduct of the general. On the

[1] Jan Arend Vos van Steenwijk. [2] Cypher. [3] Adams to Murray, October 1, 1799, in Adams MSS.

general's side it was a vindication of the measure on treaty which gives the command to the French general. The reply was, yes, but that is merely to insure unity of military operations and designs, and that if such a thing were borne with, he should consider the station of Director as beneath his personal dignity. The other charged him with heat. V. H. became more warm, and had the scene been in a place more suitable, I should say V. H. behaved throughout with the dignity of a high magistrate. There must have been twenty members in the room I think. All was silence except in the two performers. G[uyot] and I went. He told me he had begged me to wait for him because he wished to go, and feared unless I waited for him the Citoyen V. H. might detain him a long time. I told him on the contrary I was much obliged to him for having detained me, as I had never before seen Mr. V. H. warm. These were indeed precious nuts for me. The conduct of the F[rench] government was monstrous, cruel, impolitic; it is a public contempt, and it was Dumonceau's division (Dutch) which turned the day! I could perceive from G[uyot]'s talk on our way home that he suspects that Dedem, who was made prisoner the 19th, was designedly so made. This Mr. D[edem] returned that night and appeared at the Club. He told me the Duke of York had sent him back—he was not exchanged; but I am almost certain that D[edem] was not intentionally made a prisoner. If that which I have told you is not as good as a castle and a mountain, I can not help it. There is some variety in it, and among the few instances in which nature has departed in this country from a dead flat.

But though I have no castles, no toppling cliffs, nor sweet moonlights peeps and glimpses, and not a drop of moving water, yet I have

A Story (true one) for Mrs. Adams.

Dedicated in consideration of the pleasure I have enjoy'd from her tour in Bohemia, sketches of which Mr. Adams has been kind enough to give me, and drawn with a taste and tenderness which I am almost sure he had not before he was marry'd, and which I am also almost sure the *mutual* enjoyments of the scenes inspired, and which without her, had been dry statistical collections, and political opinions.

About the year —— the Queen [Louisa Ulrica] of Sweden died. She had so lived as to make all the pious a little uneasy at her death, and no one rejoiced at it but those who cared not how soon she should enter into a state of eternal punishment. Her corpse, as is usual, was carry'd to the ancient castle of E—, about 30 miles from Stockholm. This was a fortress formerly of great strength to which the Court had often retired in times of danger. Its hall and a few other apartments had however survived so as to be habitable, and the chapel in which rested the remains of the kings and queens of Sweden had been preserved in excellent order. The left wing of the castle

was on this occasion appropriated to the funeral honours of the queen. Two apartments were particularly fitted up, one, which looking over a deep ditch was darkened by the trees that covered the common graveyard, was that in which the body was placed. The room was hung as is usual with black, and it was lighted up by a few glimmering candles. The room adjoining, and which was the only one which opened to it, except the door to the corridor that led to the chapel and which was strongly bolted, was that in which her attendants and the officers of the guards, attended by turns night and day for three days and nights. This room looked into the court of the castle. The corpse had remained two nights—The ladies in waiting and Count ——— and Count ——— were chatting on the third night, when the sound of a carriage was heard rattling over the drawbridge and then round the court to the left. They were surprised, as it was near one, and the weather *extremely cold*.

In my next to be concluded—the post will not wait

Continued.

The old domestic opened the door and announced the Countess de Bare. She was of the court of the late queen, aged near eighty. The countess made her compliments and informed them that as she had been among the late queen's oldest friends, and had been deprived by illness from waiting upon her on her death bed, she had come to pay the last duties, and she begged to be permitted to see the corpse. The old Countess was detested for her vices and character; however, the officer who superintended consulted his friends the ladies, and it was agreed to permit the Countess to see her old friend. They were however surprised at the hour in which she came. It was known that she was ill in bed; but as this was the last night before interment, and as she appeared ill, pale, and much wasted and mournful, they lit up some more candles in the state room, and suffered the Countess to enter alone, shutting the door after her on account of cold. All was still, except that now and then a sobbing seemed to be heard, which they attributed to the affliction of the Countess. Every moment they expected her return. At length one hour and more elapsed, but the door yet remained shut, and the countess made not her appearance. Among the attending courtiers was a young Count P———, a gay young man; and an old officer Baron B———, an old officer, who had seen much service, and was a man of great worth and steadiness. All the company expressed their surprise at the length of the Countess's stay in the other apartment on a night so uncommonly cold. Count P——— began to be merry from what he called the interview between the old Countess and the dead queen, and joked gayly upon the wicked secrets which they might tell were they both

alive. The ladies also became a little curious, and indeed alarmed at the delay of the old lady. Count P——— said he would have a peep at the old wicked ones. He stepped lightly on tiptoe to the door—the eyes of the company following to gain from his looks some intelligence; he gently turned the latch, opened the door an inch, and tumbled back with a frightful scream upon the floor. The old officer sprang from his seat and rushed to the door which had opened by the fling which the count gave it as he fell. Baron B——— gave a scream of horror and reeled back, and at the same instant the lights in the State Room were extinguished by some invisible power, and the room was perfectly dark for a moment, until the moon flashing through a window show'd that the corpse of the queen was as it had been. The ladies and another officer ran towards the Baron and the Count. All was terror and confusion. The Countess was called loudly, but none would venture into the dark apartment. Baron B——— at length gradually recovered from the damp chill state into which he was thrown by the full view of the spectacle which he had seen; but Count P———, though breathing, recovered but to fall immediately into convulsions, that finished his life in half an hour. The Countess was implored to come out of that horrible chamber, but she appeared not. Baron B——— then told the company, that, on rushing to the open door, he saw the Countess sitting by the head of the coffin, and the corpse reclining as in the act of speaking in whispers, on the elbow, and half raised, the head of the Countess being leaning forward as of one listening; that on the instant the corpse sunk into its position, and the countess vanished and the lights went out!

The Baron and his brother officers secured the doors of the apartment in which they were, and entered the room with lights. Everything was quiet—the corpse as it had been, but no Countess was to be seen. At that moment the sound of a horn at the drawbridge announced a messenger. He was admitted. He brought orders to expect the King next morning for the funeral, and informed that the Countess de Bear, the old favorite of her late majesty, died that night in the royal palace at one o'clock. These things were so strange and were deemed so authentic, as to merit a place in the archives of Stockholm.

CLIII.

Rec. Oct. 12.
Ans. Oct. 15. 4 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: I have to thank you for many most pleasing letters, that have done me as much good nearly as they did you when you wrote them, as they made me forget the morose and unkindly political affairs with which it is natural to occupy the mind too much. I know nothing which prepares so many agreeable stores for the mind as travelling in unknown places. Reading is far short of it.

To me it is delightful while engaged in it with all its vicissitudes and upsadowns, and I have found in the tours I have made the recollections which give me never failing pleasure in their liveliness and accuracy. When you place me in the gallery at Dresden you awaken a passion which absence alone had cured. Had I lived in London I had been a professed amateur, and perhaps connoisseur professed, having I believe a greater *turn* to drawing than to anything else naturally. Reynold's Discourses, which I read studiously, seemed to justify an inclination that before I had always feared as a mark of a mechanical bias of little dignity. For in our country town Reynolds and Raphael would at this day be called *limners*, because fifty years since a Mr. Hescelius,[1] a Swiss called a limner, traveled about and left likenesses of good old folks, and of ladies with an orange on one hand and a bird on the other in a few families. He afterwards settled at Annapolis and has left a very respectable family in whom you find a superior taste and power of painting at this day. During my connoisseurship I found a principle growing on me which rendered me a little fastidious in receiving pleasure—that the subject be familiar, the composition of familiar forms. This excluded mythology. Scenes generally taken from poetry—particularly from Shakespeare, Tasso, Dante, Milton, even scenes from scripture—at length offended my taste as improper for painting. So you can perceive that truth itself, if not of familiar objects, would not do, and of course that the taste which rejected it in colours must have been fastidious. West, Raphael, etc., etc., the altar painters, did not please, because I considered their subjects as unfit for painting as for poetry for a *connoisseur!* They are proper for the churches and the people. At last even the historical pictures lost much of their weight—such is the progression of a grain of heterodoxy. Thus though not become a Turk against paintings, I fell to the shepherd taste entirely; loved Claude and other landscape, even if tolerably done, and mere family pictures dressed exactly as they lived. And at this moment, though I have before me a large five guilder bargain of the Battle of Nieuport between Maurice and Albert by Sebastian Frank, I would prefer a good painting of your friends the fine mountains, with Bohemian figures and castles, if I was sure it were done on the spot, to the Alexandre of Le Brun, or the ascension of the Virgin by Raphael. So fallen am I. The only historical pieces I love are those which do not attempt to tell what is uniform in all ages, the passions, the affections; but which portray the manners of that very year for which the piece is done. For instance, Cicero at his villa. Ah, I should love such a scene. Atticus and his other guests dressed as was their custom, and at table; for there is a greater assemblage of the manners and customs and things used in life. But if you give me a tall figure and another tall figure near a torrent

[1] John Hesselius. He was a Swede, not a Swiss.

and under trees, it is nothing. Let the scene be perfectly painted, and let what is *done* be something that makes (?) that very time and in the manner, and I could relish it. Those coarse pictures of Eastern manners please, because they do or pretend to give you the *manner* peculiar to the East in which, for instance, a common salutation is made. General ideas are nothing in historical pieces. Trumbull's are among the best historical pictures—they are likenesses; but his Death of Hector, though better painted perhaps, is but the picture of *death*, of ferocity and brutality, and of a father's sorrows—the same in all places and times. I have looked about for your Cassandra, that light charming figure so full of talkative inspiration of which you told Mrs. M[urray] and me in a trek[1] once, but can not find it. Should the British get here—a fair occasion I think to slide "from gay to grave"—we shall have prints in abundance.

On the 2d inst. the British army attacked the Batave-French army. The action continued from the morning till seven, when the last council of which *we know* left them fighting. Reports give the victory to the British. I believe it is certain that they took the French works at Bergen, two or three leagues from Petten. The inundation of the Polacs[2] near Alkmaar, which we hear was made by the French against the opinion of the Directory, is exceedingly injurious to the center and right wing (Dutch). Brune I think will be obliged to retire towards Utrecht. Works are preparing some days at Beverwijk, the Isthmus of N. and S. Holland. These may sustain points some days. You will know sooner than I the operations of the Arch Duke on the Lower Rhine. These I think will be great, and among other consequences must divert aid from the French here. The inclosed is the conclusion of my true story.[3] I will get the names and dates from Count de Löwenhielm. Dear sir, yours truly, etc., etc., etc.

I have nothing from Philadelphia, but Bourne says he has a letter from Colonel P[ickering] of 31 July, which says he has not received anything respecting the assurances there. I see that the *Maria*, who had my dispatches one set, was taken from Hamburgh by a French privateer about the time the assurances went; but I sent two sets.

From Timothy Pickering.[4]

(*Private.*) Trenton, *Oct. 4, 1799.*

Dear Sir, I have received many private letters from you, the last dated July 23d, came to hand this day. Such as contained any interesting details of French affairs I have communicated to the President, particularly those intimating the "portentous scene" ready to be displayed in France, the exhibition of that scene, the prospect of fur-

[1] For Trekschuyt.
[2] Polders.
[3] See p. 597, *supra*.
[4] From the Pickering MSS.

ther changes, and the review of Boulay de la Meurthe's remarkable pamphlet. I had for some time before been looking for great changes in France, to arise from the successes of the Austrians and the certainty of the coalition of Russia. I have for a good while been convinced, not only "of the impossibility of upholding" in France "a purely representative elective government," but imagined that monarchy would be unconditionlly restored; because the French were not likely to agree among themselves on any modification of it; and because, wearied by successions of revolutionary tyrants, they must feel the necessity of getting rid of them all as the only means of obtaining *rest* and *tranquility*. But whether monarchy shall be conditionally or unconditionally restored, I have believed that the situation of the people would be ameliorated in the final settlement of the government; and that it might be limited, after the model of the English. Such a government will secure to them all the liberty they are capable of enjoying; and therefore I wish they may acquire it; but at any rate let their violent, unprincipled, corrupt, self-named republic have an end: for until then, neither France, nor Europe, nor America, will find repose.

I could not notice without regret the style of your letter to Talleyrand on the subject of the proposed new mission to the French republic: a mission of which the institution is and has been uniformly viewed by every member in the administration, and by all the ablest and best supporters of the government throughout the Union, as the most unfortunate and the most humiliating event to the United States which has happened since the commencement of the French revolution: *for it was not a condition imposed upon us, but one voluntarily adopted*. But as I have formerly dilated on this subject in a letter which I hope you have received, I forbear making any further remarks.

By the style of your letters which I regret, I refer to the strong expressions of pleasure with which you communicate to Talleyrand the projected mission in your letter of May 5th, and receive his answer in your letter of the 18th, and the professions of "perfect respect and high esteem" for that *shameless villain*[1] with which you conclude them. This is not the necessary diplomatic style: the customary, cold "consideration" would have been enough; and the more proper because it was his own language toward you. "Respect" is due to station filled by talents accompanied with virtuous qualities: On the score of talents, I form no pretensions. "Esteem" is the sentiment of *affection* and *friendship* for *moral worth*: the profession of it you have constantly and abundantly lavished on me: and I hoped that I was not wholly unworthy of it: But what value am I to place on it when I see that with the like facility it is addressed to one of the most false,

[1] Cypher.

hypocritical, and corrupt *villains* [1] of whom France has produced so plentiful a crop. At any rate, it can afford me no pleasure; on the contrary, it is an opprobrium to be in any form associated with that man.

So much for private feelings. In a public point of view I consider the eagerness with which you as the representative of the United States address Talleyrand, and the strong expressions of joy at the prospect, or rather "the plausible appearance" of a prospect of reconciliation, to be alike injurious and degrading: *injurious*, as it will naturally suggest to the French government, an idea that we are impatient under their displeasure, and willing to make any sacrifices to regain their good-will: *degrading*, as it implies aggression on our part as the cause of the existing differences; and that we are overjoyed that they are so condescending as to permit us, penitents, to approach them, and humbly seek to regain their favour.

The two letters handed you last autumn by Pichon (the sole object of his secretaryship at the Hague was this intrigue) of the 11th Fructidor and 7th Vendémiaire (by which the French government have insidiously obtained what they sought—new overtures and envoys) have lately appeared in the newspapers of the United States. They were first published in a virulent Jacobin paper called the *Examiner* printed at Richmond, and of which the infamous wretch Callender is the *actual* editor. The last only, you have seen, was laid before the Senate and that alone was consequently published: but the French government, persevering in their projects to divide the people from the government of the United States; and suspecting that the President would not make them public, caused Pichon to prepare and certify new copies, on the 13th of March last, to be published in the United States. Pichon's certificate subjoined to each letter, is in these words, "Certified conformable to the original in my hands of which I have given a collated copy to Mr. Murray 22d Fructidor 6th year, to be communicated to the President of the United States. Paris, the 23d Vend., 7th year. L. A. PICHON."

The certificate to the letter of 7th Vendémiaire is the same, "mutatis mutandis."

Both these letters are very exceptionable; and the first contains very impudent lies: they are indeed so gross as to be insulting; and combined with the charge, that you like other men at the head of the affairs of the United States, had received *British impressions*, with the recollection of their frequent insinuations that we were all under *British influence;* would have justified you in dashing the letter in Citizen Pichon's face. But the Rubicon has been crossed! and we are humbled past redemption.

I wish to renew to you the respect and esteem with which your character and manners originally impressed, dear sir, your obt. servt.[2]

[1] Cypher.

[2] Adams to Murray, October 8, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CLIII.

8 October, 1799.

The British attacked the whole line from the sea near Beverwijk to Purmerend day before yesterday. For on the affair of the 2d they really triumphed and drove the French from Alkmaar to Beverwijk—the Russians having little share, as they were on the left and had the care of the Dutch right. This action, on the 6th, was not we hear as severe as usual. The French I believe retain their position, and Mr. Guyot says have taken 1500 prisoners. *Their* loss is not mentioned; they as usual say "Enfin, la victoire est à nous." Lord Chatham[1] is badly wounded in the throat. I will give you a copy of what Mr. Guyot sent to me yesterday, and of what I suppose he sent round. It is from Brune to him, dated Beverwijk le 14 Vendémiaire (5th October): "L'ennemi a attaqué ce matin sur toute la ligne. On s'est battu 13 heures avec des succès variés. Enfin la victoire est à nous. Les Anglo-Russes nous ont laissé onze pièces de cannon et quinze cent prisonniers. Le père de Mr. Pitt,[1] Lord Chatham est grièvement blessé à la gorge." The cannon here yesterday, and the flag at the Tower top, swore to the truth of this. Mr. Guyot also the day before announced round, that the army of the enemy was destroy'd, etc., etc., etc., in the late taking of Zürich. I believe it not. Doubtless the removal of the Arch Duke and his corps much weakened that important position, and I fear that Messéna's success may force the lower Rhine operations not to be suspended; but I have no idea of their success. Yes, there will be one more battle in Italy—and probably against the imperialists; and I think it probable that this superiority in Switzerland will endanger a little the state of Italy. But with the fortify'd places in hand, and the peasantry in arms, poor as they are, and such armies to back them, I have very little fear for the end of the autumn. Here we are twenty-five miles from fighting armies, and at a seat of government; and *you* who so intimately know the worthy Dutch, will not wonder that we are as tranquil as dish water! Yours, dear sir, always and truly.

CLIV.

11 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: On Tuesday last, the 8th, the British army retrograded from Baccusn and Limmen to Petten, evacuating Alkmaar. This was done it is understood without attack, except slight skirmishes on their rear, in which they lost about 300 prisoners. Some say not more than the 200 which I saw pass here on the 9th. The report given out here is, that the British army after an action was in full déroute and the French pursuing them and had retaken Alkmaar. To my eyes this movement appears the wisest thing they have done after taking the Helder and fortifying at Petten, where

[1] John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham (1756–1835).

the submergeable low land of the Zype runs into a point on which Petten stands, a place susceptible of great strength under a few troops. I suppose their intention is to leave a corps at this place and submerging the Zype, change their plan of attack, probably on Friesland where a superior force can display its wings, and where such a victory as that of the 2d would have put them in possession of a province, and where the people (poor sheep as they are) might support them. Whereas on a neck of land a great force has no superiority over a smaller one which may be adequate to one position.

The affair of the 8th was a theme of dramatic exhibition. The Secretary General of the Directory in their company in a box read, between the play and the piece on Tuesday night, a letter from some *Commissary* of the Directory near a Burghers corps at Harlem, stating the brilliant affairs of the day, and the mortal combats between the British and Russians. According to this sagacious commissary the last had murdered their general, and the *déroute* was much owing to these devisions. This has been officially announced, and was, I understand, yesterday officially contradicted as premature—perfect harmony subsisting.

The result of the 26th and 27th in Switzerland will be deeply felt here in the British operations, as troops, which were some days stopped in their march by the appearances on the lower Rhine, are now marching on to join General Brune.

I rejoice that I have seen even some Russian soldiers, or rather warriors; about fifty common soldiers were in the line of prisoners which past here. They are very like in complexion, and character of countenance, and step, our Southern Indians, with a profile not so noble. So strong were the points of resemblance that even their yellow coarse whiskers of the upper lip, and the paleness of their hair and eyes did not overpower them, though opposite. I never could before attain what I considered as the correct visible form of a barbarian—and man uneducated and ferocious, yet civilized enough to submit his courage to the voice of strict discipline, grave, fixed, yet without the lines of reflexion, but full of the lines of the fiery passions or rather of but one—rage. I have seen the soldiers of Attila. They were a most complete contrast to the Britons who were mixed with them, who, I was sorry to see, appeared, the majority of them, to be very common fellows, very inferior to the lofty barbarian—those coarse but hot irons. The people gave them all not halfs—guilders, doits; the applewomen gave apples, and with an epigrammatic cleverness which I had not expected from such goddesses, a sesthalf now and then stuck in the apple and given with heartiness. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc.[1]

[1] Pickering to Murray, October 14, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 15, in Adams MSS.

CLV.

Rec. Oct. 21.
Ans. Oct. 22. 15 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: It is understood that another battle took place day before yesterday, the 13th inst—an attack of the French and Dutch upon Petten and the British line; that at Petten the French had at first some success, but failed in their attack; that Mr. Deforgues,[1] the new adjoint of Mr. Florent Guyot, past the 13th June *on to General Brune*, where by the bye many of the discontented *patriots* have been some time, and given some alarm to government; as it is believed these five or six days past that some precious plot is ripening against the moderate, government party. Again, it is said with confidence, but confidentially, that D[eforgues] is sent to ascertain the true state of affairs, in consequence of some variance in the reports of the minister and the *proconsul*—quaestor may not the first be called, but both perform what I suppose to have been the occupation of that character—superintend the chest of the independent ally. I presume if that solution of his appearance here be true, either Mr. G[uyot] or General B[rune] will go, as he will not find both correct. If his award be with B[rune], then I should fear some violence towards government. Poor government, ancient Bataves. They are hands and feet at head quarters, whatever mud hole be these Bakkum or Beverwijk. On the 13th I was assured that they had had no official information for five or six days. Brune will write to *them*, when he please, not to their minister of war; and the other generals durst not write. They get a letter from Commissaries at Harlem (of the Burghers), publish it, and in twenty-four [hours] it is contradicted—tales of battles between republicans and British, general murdered, and most triumphant slaughter and fratricide. But Mr. General does just as he thinks proper, and Daendels has thrown himself into B[rune]'s party, which is the strongest certainly. The French force is about 15,000 in North Holland; in 10 days will be 20,000. The British prisoners say that thousands of their army are sick and sent to England; that near one-third are forced to keep the open air for want of houses, turn about—about 500 have been ten days at Lemmer in Friese, but the country people, the militia, are against them near the town, having failed in one attack. It is strong because approached by one or two dykes. Just now affairs look gloomy for the expedition. Had the Arch Duke come down the Rhine, the face of the nation would have been very different, though I have no idea of their supporting, actively, the operations of the English; they are not men of that sort.

Mr. Vos van Steenwijk, who it is said has been at Berlin, returned on the 13th. I saw him at the play that night and asked him what

[1] François-Louis-Michel-Chemin Deforgues.

news; he said, none. It is to milk the ram—to do anything with P[russia]—if he went to do anything. Unless a man is skating, his place is to *stand still* if a crowd of skaters are flying about him on the ice; and that seems to be the position of P[russia] and his plan—but he ought to be on his skates.

I wait with the anxiety natural on the eve of a great expected event, for the issue of the meeting between the armies of the Arch Duke and Suwarrow and Masséna's—the first and second on the front and rear of the last. All things considered it will have more suites than any that can now happen. Much of Italy, Suabia and certainly, I think, affairs here, hang upon that day. I expect that M[asséna] will be almost crushed. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

I just receive a line from a Mr. Browne, merchant of Rotterdam. He informs me of the death of our consul, Mr. Beeldemaker[1] and applies for his place. He was his brother in law, he says. I never heard of Mr. Browne. Do you know him?

Mr. Guyot this moment sends me a note, I suppose as usual to the corps also: "that he is officially informed that Masséna has beaten Suwarrow, and killed and taken 6000 Russians in the pays de Grisons." I believe yet that the official news is telegraphically official, and I can not believe it yet on that account.[2]

CLVI.

Recd. Oct. 27.

Ans. Oct. 29. SUNDAY, *20 October, 1799.*

I have the misfortune to find you but too often right—the "best natured man with the worst natured muse"—if you too have an inspiring assistant; and if no prophet, very much of a Scotchman. Yes, my dear sir, it is but too bad.

On the 16th (so the Directory say to the councils agreeably to General Brune's dispatch of the 17th to them, and as one of them told me on the 18th at night) the Duke of York, at the head of at least as many men as the Duke of Cumberland gave up at Closterseven sent General Knox to make proposals to the effect that he would evacuate the country!! Some secret reason can alone account for this affair so important to the allies, who, doubtless, count on his co-operation. Brune answered, give up the fleet, and 15,000 prisoners, and quit the country without doing mischief. Letters last night say, that the capitulation is SIGNED; whether under these disgraceful conditions, is not known. As I write (immediately on receiving your valuable favour 69 [October 8]) I hear the discharge of cannon, and I lay my life they announce the capitulation. I will

[1] John Beeldemaker.

[2] Murray to Van der Goes, October 16, 1799, and to Pickering, October 18, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 19, in Adams MSS.

go out—seriously it is not a novel letter—and find if it be true—as it is so probable!

I am just returned from the S. Chamber, summoned to receive the great news that the convention for the departure of the Anglo-Russian Army was signed yesterday!!!

What is curious in respect to this affair's connection with this government is that the capitulation, or convention rather, itself has not come. The detailed articles are not positively known. It is believed, however, and even asserted by men bound to know (were there any way of knowing from a general in chief by the government who pays him!!) that 1. Evacuate in fifteen days; 2d. delivered 8,000 prisoners, exclusive of those to be exchanged; 3. put the fort at the Helder *in statu quo*, and deliver the artillery. Some still say a 4th—the fleet lately taken to be inactive during the war, and to be delivered after it, but this last I believe is incorrect. If some secret motive equivalent to the sacrifice, and even embracing the principal objects of the expedition be not at the bottom, it is not easy to solve so strange, so unexpected, so apparently unnecessary a step, and one which will give the rising blow to the British armies, whose reputation was really fast rising to a level with the continental character! Lord have mercy on the cause of law, order, and good government! At the moment that reinforcements must have arrived this measure is adopted. What will not be the sensation in the government and nation of Great Britain, unless there be some secret attainment of their object *by these means* which appears so disgraceful till their real agency is explained? It is not likely that this secret exists, and yet the whole without it is really too bad. It is said by the Dutch and French that great confusion has lately reigned in the B[ritish] army, and some marks of insubordination; that the Russians and they disagree. The result of any folly is natural, the folly once admitted, and this convention would seem to justify even the charges lately made, ridiculous as these seemed on the 10th, the disagreements between the B[ritish] and R[ussian] troops, etc., etc.

At Paris the vote of thanks to the armies sets out in the course of the debates, modestly: "It is acknowledged that the French people are the greatest of nations, and that the French troops are the first soldiers on earth, etc., etc., etc." That brusque and mustachioed preparation is but to give you the effect of strong contrasted colors in the portrait of peace which reposes in the background; and these contrasts, Sir Joshua says, are useful in painting, when the sublime is attempted. In fact, they, at Petten talk of a peace as near.

I hear from Amsterdam that the Boston papers announce Mr. Davy[1] of North Carolina as Mr. Henry's successor, and that late letters say Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. D[avie] would set out in September.

1 William Richardson Davie (1756–1820).

The person[1] whom I mentioned to you in a late letter in cypher has returned, and did not succeed. He did set in motion some useful things, but these have since failed. What I said was for you only as I have not wrote it, fearing possibilities. Yours, dear sir, always.

If you have not read Abbé Winkelman's letters, and his larger work on the fine arts among the ancients,[2] your Dresden enjoyments will give you a high relish for them; but of all the things of that class of literary leisure I love Sir Joshua's Discourses—or rather did, twelve years since. I have not got them. Your large square bale of books are with me. If I go, tell me what I shall do with them. However I shall have my own also to take care of, and unless you direct otherwise, your bale, which is unopened and well packed and sewed with cord, will be where mine will be left. Your initials are on it. I will put your name, etc., etc., at length, to guard against difficulties, *should I see the inside of the Temple!*

CLVII.

Rec. Oct. 27.
Ans. Oct. 29. 21 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: Your 70 [October 11] was a great luxury to me after I had been pummelling my head with the Secretary of State about the Duke of York, Russians, Dutch, French, mud, misery, mistakes and melancholy marvelling. So that I enter the field in support of the familiar in painting pretty much in the temper in which this ill-begotten son of a king past so piteously into Petten, prepared more to call for capitulation than combat. However, notwithstanding your 44-pounder, which I felt, in your paragraph entire from "give me the painter, etc., etc.," yet I do, like a true protestant, stick to the familiar, and vow against con- and transsubstantiation, though I perish in the burning of that sentence. It is not an idea well digested, but it does seem to me that many things are fit for poetry, (which all critics allow to have a gift of mental painting ungiven to painting—as in the well-known cited case of Shakespeare's "sleeping moonlight" which Viola sees (I think)—things that are in the imagination a learned one. Yet I do not see why painting, which is absolutely imitative, should dare so much as to go beyond a prototype in nature. I do doubt if she ought. It ought to tell its story without inscription, that is, the story should seem natural. This applies to mythology and to the marvellous in scripture. Without a sincere veneration for religion, I had rather see left to the mind than the eye.

As to the historical, perhaps my objection may be more to the ability of man to execute than to the thing itself. I never, that I

[1] Vos van Steenwijk.

[2] Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768). Murray refers to his "Briefe an Bianconi" and "Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums."

remember, saw an historical piece of much or rather numerous a composition and intricacy of detail that did not weaken the idea I had conceived by the narrative. My narrative is cotemporary with each succeeding moment, hands me along, the scene thickens, everything succeeds as cause and effect. In the picture I see the whole of one instant—an insulated scene. No, perhaps it is too great an effort, and unsuitable in its nature to these subjects.

As to the uniformity of the passions, that is my objection. A man with Le Brun's book of heads [1]—attitudes—in his hand, dresses up a scene—love, hatred, rage, cunning, hypocrisy—all commonplace, nothing *historical* more than in the painting of landscapes—mere elements. I want to see the caprices, the manners; I do not know these. I do know how Achilles looked when in a fury; and as to Alexander in the Tent of Darius, he is any Grecian general and the ladies are in sorrow as ladies are at any time. Tell me that they are *likenesses*, then, indeed, I can pour upon them, feel with them; but I have not philanthropy enough to sympathize with the representative face of sorrow as it universally is seen. As to Lazarus, to return, I turn from such things, because I feel them void of taste. Were I [an] unbeliever in a future state I would so think, because they suppose the resurrection of the dead true, and yet attempt to paint it with the accompaniments of a scene totally adverse to any sublime idea of the manner of the event. The same departure, once admitting these things within the bounds of classical painting, has led to a thousand extravagancies. All travellers have somewhere seen the author of nature himself painted. I remember that when I read Winckelmann's remarks on the Torso by Angelo, considering it as the ruins of the statue of Hercules (it was long since in an *Annual Register*), I felt in his efforts to give an idea adequate to what he deemed sublime in the work, and one worthy of a demigod, that he was dressing a pigmy in gigantic clothes, etc. He started the impression in me that there was no *taste* in the ancient statuaries who attempted to portray their divinities as works for the admiration of thinking men.

Let me ask you, was not your own eloquent character of Cicero absolutely, from the nature of the thing, infinitely beyond the reach of the pencil. You may have him in any *one* of the cases in which you so well distinguish his unlikenesses—things reconcileable in the mind but not, I think to be reduced to painting.

I should have preferred another time for this. You are just from enjoying these works, and brimfull of their defence, and with arms fresh. Politise a month—and study *painting* at the card tables (mind! I hear Mrs. Adams does not use paint!) and get your mind smoked dry'd a little in a musty city and then, if you will challenge me, brush in hand, I am your man. Dear sir, always yours.[2]

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[1] Charles Le Brun (1619–1690).

[2] Adams to Murray, October 22, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to John Adams, October 23, *Ib.*

CLVIII.

Rec. Oct. 30.
Ans. Nov. 1. 25 October, 1799.

Dear Sir: *The capture* (voilà the last column of figures on the right is incorrect—figures *repeated*) *of Donn*[1] *gave me uneasiness. I feared discovery.*[2] But all is right.

On the 6th (I forget if I mentioned it) General Donn was detained as a prisoner, though he came as a flag—certainly at a questionable time; as at the moment of his coming to General Daendels's headquarters, the attack was on the left of the French. On him, it is said, were found papers of some mysterious nature, and instructions from the Duke of York. Perhaps with the same object on which he attempted to come on openly to government here in the beginning of September, when General B[rune] would not permit him to come on, to treat with government directly. I think it was General Donn.

It is known that Mr. Guyot eleven days since demanded his dismission, and it is understood that Brune goes also—probably with his troops, and by this day 30,000 to the Rhine. This was the effect which I supposed to be the strongest against the allies of this inglorious and unexplained convention. There seems to me more matter for a general peace than has been these six years. Oh! the Patriots here rave against Brune like geese, because he did not get the fleet, a free fishery, no blockade—I do not know but the Cape also! Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

The royal race goes on I see in Berlin. I pity those babes, unless some Frederic be among them—which can not be expected in a century.

What was Durand's business at Berlin? My *true story* could not be finished by that post, and though it was a proper place to break off—as Hudibras says, in the middle—yet I had not time to go on.[3]

From Timothy Pickering.[4]

(*Private and confidential.*)

Trenton, *October 25, 1799.*[5]

Dear Sir: In the bitterness of my indignation, chagrin and distress on the appointment of new envoys to the execrable government of France, I have vented my feelings in some private letters to you: for I thought it important that you should know truly the sensations which the measure has produced: and be assured that mine rise no higher than those of the other members of the administration, and of men whom I am sure you remember with respect, esteem

[1] George Don (1754–1832). He was kept a prisoner until June, 1800.
[2] Cypher.
[3] For Washington to Murray, October 26, 1799, see "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 213; Pickering to Murray, October 26, in Pickering MSS.
[4] For the Pickering MSS. A good part of the letter was to be sent in cypher.
[5] Sent to Phila'a to go in a vessel to Bremen. *Note endorsed by Pickering.*

and affection—among them I need mention only General Hamilton, Mr. Cabot and Mr. Ames. The rumour of a *suspension*, gave them some relief: but the late positive order of the President that the mission should proceed, has excited anew our deep regrets and will overwhelm them with the most poignant sorrow. Mr. Ellsworth I know is absolutely averse to the mission: but he goes for the same reason that he at first yielded to the nomination—to prevent something worse.

I have formerly told you that this mission was, in its origin, exclusively the President's own act: and the determination at this time that it should proceed, is in like manner entirely his own. When he came on to Trenton lately, we all expected that the actual and impending changes in the affairs of France, as well internal as external, would have produced a solemn pause; and that as Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Davie were both here, the President would have willingly compelled them as well as the heads of departments, before he finally decided on a measure of magnitude surpassing, in the actual state of things, at home and abroad, every other since the formation of the federal government. God knows it was not for the honour of being consulted, that we wished it: but if the opportunity had been offered, we hoped that our joint opinions and reasonings, supported by the voice of the most enlightened men and truest friends to our country, might have prevailed with the President, at least to *suspend* the mission, until a government evidently possessing some stability should exist in France. But we were disappointed. As soon as the instructions were finally arranged (and in these our opinions were in every part received and adopted), we were the second time shocked with the President's *sole* and peremptory decision. Mr. Ellsworth was just going to the President's lodgings, to make a last effort to dissuade him from a present prosecution of the measure, when I *called* to tell him I *had orders* to furnish the envoys with their instructions, and to desire them to embark by the first of November, in the frigate *United States*. The Secretary of the Navy at the same time received orders to have her got ready for the voyage. These orders leading him to call on the President to ask some question, the President spoke of his decision in this manner—*That he did not think it respectful to consult the heads of departments, for he had maturely deliberated on the subject, and made up his mind, which was unchangeable.*

While the President was at Quincy, we thought it our duty to express our opinions (which were unanimous) with some reasons, why the mission should be *suspended:* at the same time I sent him your letters noting the important events in Europe, particularly the interesting changes in the interior of France, and your idea that the *republic* would probably not survive six months. It was after

the receipt of these documents that the President wrote Judge Ellsworth, *that he should for a longer or shorter time suspend the mission*, and for the very reasons which we had suggested. But he ridicules the idea that the period of the French republic is at hand: he says it will last yet seven years; and desires his prediction may be remembered. But his ideas of the measure and its consequences differ from those of all other men whom I know: and without some interposition of Providence, will prove fatal to our dearest interests. It has already prevented a commercial treaty with Russia; and it would be folly to attempt one with the Porte. An actual treaty with the French republic will probably bring us into a war with the combined powers; or if open war be not declared, our commerce will be harrassed and deeply injured, and from the Russian ports (on which we depend for sailcloth and hemp) be probably excluded. In the mean time, the intercourse with France will be renewed, and we shall be cursed with a revolutionary minister to intrigue with the numerous enemies of our government, until it be overturned. These are some of the evils with which this mission is pregnant. When it was intimated to the President, that the negociation with the French republic, at this time, might lead to a war with Great Britain, would you believe it possible that he should answer, *"Great Britain could not hurt us!"*

These facts I thought you ought to know; to aid you in making a just estimate of things at home.

Whatever you find in my private letters to hurt your sensibility, I trust you will forgive: persuaded of the purity of my motives. In the ardour of your mind you have appeared not to me only, but to your friends McHenry and Wolcott, to have exceeded the bounds of prudence and propriety in those passages of your letters on which I have animadverted. I formerly noticed your congratulations to the revolutionary government of Holland: but I did not, I believe, repeat the President's earnest remark upon them: "that young man will ruin me." Perhaps this single remark would have supplied the place of all other comments; and saved me the pain and you the displeasure of seeing them expressed. But in performing a duty or an act of friendship, I relied on your candour to put a just interpretation on my acts. "If I have been 'angry' I am sure it was without sin." Faithfully yours,[1]

CLIX.

4 NOVEMBER, 1799.

There was but one subject on which I suspected I had any sort of advantage over you—painting. Perhaps it was because I was a drawer from chalk to pencil, and from infancy and a tulip to seventeen, when I accomplished, victoriously in the eyes of our village, a

[1] Adams to Murray, October 29, November 2, 1799, in Adams MSS.

pencil copy of my grandfather's portrait in a full bottomed wig and dove colored velvet; and of all earthly superiority that attained in remote villages is the most tenacious. So that I began like an expert fencer to play loose with you, not thinking that it was very natural to believe that you too might have wielded a pencil; and I will lay my life that I am not the only man of rhyme either in our diplomacy—always as in duty bound placing Humphreys' atop. To try you I will venture the little piece below as a touchstone, and if you are a poet too, I am done with you and will begin to write sermons. Critics agree that the mind should be prepared and warmed gradually for the reception of the fine things, and as this relates to my wife it is too important not to have an introducing remark, and that is, that it was written in 1786, and that the seminal idea was produced by, not found in, the reading of the *Discourses* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the doctrine which I admit as a most interesting one—to derive general ideas from a very comprehensive study of nature, and a learned and constant meditation on the works of the great masters in the arts. To reach the ideal beautiful! This is a charming and sublime idea, and the polar star of all that is lasting and great in all things. But to my couplets:

To Laura.[1]

Nature in the impassion'd mind
Breathes the ideal form of love;
And in this we see combin'd,
All that happiness can prove.

Fondly in each fair we try
The sweet prototype to view;
Longer could my roving eye,
Search for this when fix'd on you!

Then the soul with trembling chord,
Own'd the unison it sought;
Then was Laura's form ador'd
As the image Lov'd of thought.

However indulgent the rights of friendship, I would not send you this but that my friend Wilmot, now dead! thought so well of it that he obtained a copy of me, and in a few days I saw my verses in a newspaper—(but without name or allusion).

Besides I have the authority of Colonel Humphreys who lately sent me an excellent, but too sentimental, sea song for our seamen. However I do positively send my lines in deep secrecy as to the United States, for there is, and perhaps justly, I know an absolute distrust of the ability (and of course want of confidence) of any rhyming diplomat, especially among the mercantile members of Congress, who—my fame never has reached them—have unbosomed

[1] It was Laura or Charlotte—most of my *amatory* pieces (as Johnson has it) to her being to Laura according to usage. *Note by Murray.*

themselves to me on this subject with an inveterate frankness of contempt that made me shudder.

But this question respecting general ideas is too important for me to pretend to handle without much previous reflexion and writing. It seems a great elementary rule intended to correct and form the taste; but that taste formed under the arduous study which can alone attain it, must be liberated as to the selection of objects in a picture—there being a general idea belonging to each genus, species, variety and family of all things. And the act of the painter as the poet is not to omit things which are incapable of being generalised, as costume, manners, which if generalised are not historical; but this again returns to the question what are proper subjects for painting? Those most susceptible of being generalised, or those not so much so. Sir Joshua, whom I warmly admired, either says somewhere, or it is a remark which I drew from the study of his portraits, and particularly of those whose originals I had known or seen often, that a profound portrait painter preserves *likeness*, and yet so developes the hidden powers which may be supposed to, and generally do, belong, to such and such an outline and expression, as to give you the portrait of that same man, *as he would stand* before you under the highest state of perfection, or rather improvement, of which his particular character, age, circumstances, etc., etc., etc., would render him susceptible. His portrait of Monsr. Egalité,[1] then Duke of Chartres and in England, was a striking *likeness*, but it was the Duke of Chartres as he might have been, noble minded, lofty, yet polite, and brave. This Duke I saw perpetually about town "A Satyr to Hyperion," his picture, yet a strong and unmistakable likeness. So was Lord Rodney's. The king's certainly did almost defeat his magic powers; but indeed that was an interesting picture (but at that time my own eyebrows were nearly as light as his and my eyes as large)—perhaps I was flattered. Turn that idea often in your mind, and then I think you will find what I in vain can show by analysis, that Sir Joshua applied his general ideas in that particular way which I admire, and you will perceive that in the painting of Trumbull of our glorious Independence you could have all that I contend for retained, and yet the great, derived from general ideas, most happily blended. Your father, sir, would have been in the same *firm* attitude, with the countenance more full of the great ideas which he actually had; but the attitude would have been better. He would have had his hair as he now wears it, instead of a wig, (which he now hates himself). Mr. Sherman's straight hair would have been locks, and all sanctity of countenance would have been thrown out of his meager face; and Mr. Jefferson would have seemed more in action—which is what the whole three want; but it is to me

[1] Louis-Philippe Joseph, duke of Orleans (1747–1793).

a most invaluable picture, and has enough to immortalise the painter. In the figure of Jesus Christ there is a fine field for that profound idea which can be reached but by immense study and discrimination. I will admit even the ascension of that figure—it is historical and consoling; but I deny angels, gods, or devils a place in painting, notwithstanding I see you are borrowing their arts and arms to overturn my resolution.

Mr. Guyot goes today; General Knox, it is said, as *hostage*, with him, to Paris. Mr. Deforgues stays, so does Brune. G[uyot] has acted well and candidly here. He gave in his dismission. I will, wherever I be, attend with sincere pleasure to all your commissions and wishes, and those of Madame also, who must do me the honor to read my verses.

My letter was too late. I do not send it.

As soon as by several letters from Mr. Bourne, Pitcairn, and one from Mr. King, I was informed that our "newspapers reported Mr. Davie's appointment, and that Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. D[avie] would sail probably in September," which was about fourteen days since, I made a point of informing Mr. Guyot verbally at the play house exactly what I had heard, as of newspaper news exclusively, and that I had no intelligence official or by private channels of the fact. I was led to tell him by knowing that "the French combine badly," and that had they heard this newspaper news a month hence for the first time, it would have been attributed (the fact of the new nomination, etc., etc.,) to their successes in September and October!! though impossible, "*Eh, bien c'est égal.*" I hear that I am quoted to the effect above mentioned in a French paper.

4. November, 1799.

CLX.

Rec. Nov. 14.

Ans. Nov. 16. 8 November, 1799.

Dear Sir: Day before yesterday I received a letter from the Secretary of State of the 4. September. He says that the assurances which I transmitted from Mr. Talleyrand are considered as a substantial compliance with the President's requisitions, and that notice to prepare for the voyage had been given to the envoys there. By a slip which Bourne cut from a paper for me I see that our gallant Truxtun has resigned. A dispute on a point of seniority with Captain Talbot[1] was the certain cause, and the decision of the government being with Talbot's title to it. I presume some strict rule on this point necessary, but surely distinguished merit will find a door more generous and noble for its ascension and honor than the grade by grade of junior to senior. It seems that there is no discontent on Truxtun's part at the decision which Mr. Stoddert says was long

[1] Silas Talbot (1751–1813).

delay'd, because it was understood that let it go either way, the government was to lose one of these officers. But I do wish, my dear sir, that Truxtun had had a seventy-four given to him and title of post captain. For as to adhering to mere seniority, it is too mechanical for the formation of a young navy or the support of an old one. The Executive must have some means of raising a distinguished officer above the old; the mere men of inapproachable obscurity, and of inactivity and want of success! So it is in the British navy. The mischief sometimes of that power of making illustrious exceptions to a general rule of grade, there, is that great family influence keeps down an old meritorious lieutenant forty years as such, and gives great command to younger men of family. But even then, if this be true, you see a Nelson burst forth, taken too from a lower grade than Captain Frederick, Sir J. Orde,[1] and three others in Lord St. Vincent's fleet. In our service the cause would not operate, or very little. I am not personally acquainted with Truxtun, and it is from a sincere zeal for our main right arm of force, and for its distinction that I write with this freedom to you! Talbot, I think, it is the same I knew in Congress, and I dare say is a good officer. One of the first frigates was given to him; but in the Granny days of Congress they knocked down his frigate I think among others, so he has not had a chance of distinguishing himself. The other has struck his blow, and has now a first niche in our naval hall. Could I lay down a rule it should be, gentlemen you all start with your *commissions* and *dates*. You are as *yet equal*, agreeably to dates, in the eyes of government; any one of you may make that inequality cease by great and distinguished services. We will be the judge; public opinion will generally precede our judgment. We have no titles for you, but we *will* distinguish merit. Length of service is much, but distinct strokes of merit *shall* have distinct rewards. Just fame and promotion shall go together in our navy; but the idea of patient grade that rises by a mere *date* suits not impatient glory, and will palsy all this sort of pursuit into mere mechanism. I write and speak to you only on this subject. You know that I am not querulous on government affairs. It would be unbecoming were I so inclined to, indeed; but this affair has made me uneasy.

Brune yesterday had his triumph. I did not chuse to "partake the gale." *He* demanded a public audience of the Directory. Notice was given to the foreign corps. Some went. The Directory appealed to him as the hero who had saved the republic!! They dislike each other.

Day before yesterday I addressed a note to government complaining of the Governor and council of Curaçoa, Lauffer, and put an unusual quantity of vinegar into it. It was a good occasion to attack

[1] John Orde (1751–1824).

principles, not long since practiced *here*, by abusing at length Lauffer and council as mere instruments of the anarchists of that colony, and of the French banditti who infect it. No answer of course these six months!!

Our paintings must wait the most charming subject I have thought of in Holland! Dear sir, affectionately always yours, etc., etc., etc.

I inclose the slip. Mr. Smith writes me the 2d October, that a short time before that Captain Murray [1] (whom I am exceedingly pleased indeed to see in the *Insurgent*) was in that frigate a week at Lisbon. Would he could strike a brilliant blow.[2]

CLXI.[3]

Rec. Nov. 17.

Ans. Nov. 19. 12 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I assure you that I had mistaken your excellent cypher, which is the best I ever saw. I wish the Secretary would give us three or four sets, marked A, B, C, D, as a key to the one used, for I fear ours may by this time be known. But be assured also that the office itself is under the guard but of honesty, and has few barriers against the thousand ways and means by which papers are obtained in Europe.

The English and Russians are believed by this to have departed to enjoy undisputed box lobbies—the birth right, and Xmas pies in dear London. *The anarchists feast the hero who has saved this country,*[4] who unlike our truly great, bows his head most complacently to the laurel that feastical uproariousness places about his august temples. Here I call your theory to the bar. A picture to hand to future ages the figures of crouching pusillanimity licking with a tongue dry'd by anger the foot that is on its neck—for angry it is—but yet pleased that its head is not off. The *Beau* will not do; likeness alone can give the portrait its true force. General ideas drawn from general characteristics, from the likeness of Spartacus, of Retzi or of Weishaupt,[5] will not do. Carnot's image of Auraujo painted, the haughty brigand would best call up the soul that is to be painted, but that would not, for it is of a man who is not that, but one who would personate such a character, smiling in the triumph of deceiving a set of poor devils into this belief, while the poor things, more cunning than he, cheat him into the belief that they consider him as *fac totum*, but at the same time show the rest of the world that they are not *fools*, but poor timid things. No, nothing but likenesses—the face that shows astonishment at being in a situation to become famous, the eager look that seems to fear the spectators would not live

[1] Alexander Murray (1755–1821).

[2] Adams to Murray, November 12, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[3] This is almost too bad to trust by post. Observe the seals. *Note by Murray.*

[4] Cypher. Brune is the "hero."

[5] Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830), reputed founder of the "Illuminati."

long enough to witness the glory of the hour, the satisfy'd smile that shows that this very sort of stuff was long the veritable object of ambition, to contrast it, and to be historically true, a placid but cunning cast of phiz, rather than of look, a set of features buoyed up into a state of ready activity but by a submissive spirit, and a blue glassy eye in which meaning is lost in thickness, and yet a cunning air over the whole countenance which is visible to all but the eye of the vanity imposed on—Raphael could not, as far as we know of his extent, paint these. If he could not, we can trace, not perhaps the limits of the beau ideal, the great sublime, but its class. The truly great and truly beautiful are the exclusive objects of such a painter. To attain a correct idea of these would consume a life. I doubt if our conception of the opposite, the deformed, the loathsome and hideous in nature and in moral, are as correct as that of the beautiful and grand. We attain the last by *correcting*, by gradually laying aside this and that as incongruous, not assorted, unworthy, not in tone, according to the sublime and severe idea we may have a glimpse of in our happier moments of meditation; but of the deformed we have never prepared a prototype. All our powers on the contrary are seeking truth, grace, perfection; and it is to be hoped have a greater natural preparation to receive ideas of these than of the reverse. To this too our very passions and instincts tend. A painter then might have reached one walk *only* in attaining Raphael's path, and he might perhaps be incapable of pursuing the opposite course; because perhaps it is true that our ideas of the deformed and ignoble are more particular and personal and local—our ideas of the great beautiful and noble formed on profound and comprehensive reflexion—our power over the first; of limited duration, because relative to objects particular and even local and not of an interest so deep as that over the first, because we are not formed to hate or to laugh with the same intensity that we are to admire to love and to adore.

You see how barren the budget is of politics. We have nothing. I am resolved if Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] come, to demand my *whole* outfit, as Mr. P[inckne]y. "The law awards it." If I am not entitled to it, I am to none; for suppose Mr. K[ing] moved to Petersburg—is he to have another full 9000 dollars, or *none?* Each minister is a new appointment, and new commission. If you did not demand it, it was from motives that do not apply to me; but you ought to have had *the whole.* You see I am convinced at least. Dear sir, always and truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

CLXII.

15 NOVEMBER, 1799.

My last was, on reflection, too bilious, and even unkind to distressed humanity—*absentem qui rodet.* I try not to be, though my

bile and the state of the world betray me I fear into that fault sometimes.

Great events seem prepared at Paris. You will probably before this reaches you know that Bonaparte and Sieyès on Friday (this day week) overturned the four other Directors, and moved the councils to St. Cloud! Bonaparte's proclamation pledges to nothing which could be a barrier either to his own power or that of another, if he wish to change radically, at least the executive. A new negociation for peace, or a change in the executive, or even L[ouis] 18—one or all of these would not surprise me, as S[ieyès] and B[onaparte's] objects. A report is here that he made his circuitous voyage to France under a Prussian passport. S[ieyès] probably sent for him, as the date of the sailing of the fleet from Brest and its supposed destination to Egypt accord with S[ieyès]'s installation. Whatever were S[ieyès]'s *real* plans when he quitted Berlin, are probably those on which B[onaparte] was sent for, and to a degree now the outline of their joint labors.

The essay on *German Literature* in the *Spectator* of last month has made me more and more envy you your growing intimacy with Germany and its letters. Is Lessing's *Laocoon* published, or translated rather, out of the German? Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

I refused one Jesse Honneywell a passport the other day, because he had been in one of Hayley's privateers, captain or mate, not long since, out of France.[1]

CLXIII.

22d November, 1799.

Dear Sir: In truth I knew you were a poet—your Boston friends having told me so some years since; and I remembered at least that fondness for it which is essential to become one, from your fondness for Gray; though I thought that your having chosen the *Ode of the King of Prussia*, to translate, when you were with the President in the Burgwall, was not very much in accord with your Love of Gray's Pindaric fire and boldness. A touch of the coxcomb made me at that time of life adopt and defend heterodox criticism against the great masters. Vain apprentices generally act so; but I recant these heresies. I love Gray's and Milton's odes, and they are among the very few poets whom I read. Some parts of Wharton's v. d. Odes too, founded in the gothic fable, so superior in my opinion to the heathen mythology! are charming to me. Your remembering of my remark upon Gray, so far back as 1784, is a circumstance that I will confess pleases me extremely—the mere remembrance of it!

[1] Adams to Murray, November 16, 19, 22, in Adams MSS.

But to business. We have been upon the brink of a convulsion yesterday [Friday] was a week was the day intended, but the intelligence which came the Tuesday preceding of Bonaparte's revolution at Paris kept these inferior spirits down. It was prepared at Paris, that vast antre of plots, and doubtless was a link in the chain there forging by Barras and Co., which Bonaparte broke on the 18th, and of which he speaks publickly. Ten days before, about the 1st inst., Deforgues had by order of his government demanded the dismission of Messrs. Van der Goes, Minister of External Relations, and of Spoors, Minister of Marine—indeed of that of the Police and War too—but the two first particularly. The Directory demanded the *cause*—they were disagreeable to his government. But Citizen Minister, what is your *charge* against them? No charge in particular; they are men prejudiced against us. "They are faithful men to us as far as we know, and are agreeable to us," I hear was the answer. What could you expect after that refusal but a Revolution! which, like Doctor Last's remedies, is radical; whether it be the foot, the hand, or the head, "I cuts 'em off." Thirty thousand troops too all round them, French troops; 3,000 billeted here, and particularly, numbers billeted close to the Directory, and about in convenient places. They would have commenced by liberating those friends of liberty confined in a state prison—that near which the De Witts were killed, and in whose house by the by Mr. Van der Goes now lives. The liberation of these anarchists had been demanded and refused.

It is understood that Brune *deliberated* when he received orders for the departure of 20,000 troops from hence after the 18th Brumaire. He certainly pested extremely when he heard of Buonaparte's proceeding even against B[arras]. Some days' reflexion has taught him that B[onaparte] is the superior spirit, and he submits; and yesterday the new oath was administered to the garrison here—fidelity to the republic, one [and] indivisible, and the representative system and sovereignty of the people.

Entre nous, Mauberg (son-in-law of La Fayette) came to me last Sunday night "for my commands to Paris." Sir, are you not an emigrant? Yes, but Mr. Deforgues will give me a passport. He went, in half an hour returned mournfully. Mr. D[eforgues] had not only refused to give one, but had put in his pocket the order signed Fouché de Nantz, Minister of Police, for the passport, saying, "I will send it tomorrow to Paris." I concluded two things: that D[eforgues] is opposed to B[onaparte's] revolution, for the order was signed the 10th November; and that La Fayette will, with all the emigrés of the Constitution of 1791, return upon principles to which I see no obstacle in anything yet promulgated as the new faith. Yours, affectionately, Dear sir.

CLXIV.

26 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If the talents of Raphael must be exclusively devoted to the great, I should expect to find the mannerist in him—monotony, sameness, and after some time insipidity. Without a perpetual supply of variety this would be the case. General ideas are by no means sources of that variety. A happy turn as Reynolds had to generalise particulars, still however keeping them distinct, and individually different, is the source of that rich variety in which nature abounds. In classing, without absolute similitude, a man takes great pains to reach the ideal beautiful. He gets a glimpse of it, and unless he is a most correct observer, and possesses an activity and freedom of search into particulars equal to the rich field of nature, he will, and I think I have seen it in most who have studied the antique, Cosway [1] and Koffman,[2] etc., etc., he will get a habit of giving you a copy as it were from a MODEL; for he will say there is but one true beauty in each class. So that it comes too much round again to Le Brun's book of heads. It is from having seen this, as I thought in paintings much cry'd up, such a mere shifting of models from one piece of plagiarism to another—the same Cupid that is today on Venus's robe, a fold of it in one great picture, tomorrow placed in some other of Paul Veronese's (this was proved in Desenfans [3] lawsuit at Guildhall), such a wonderful likeness of the true beautiful, borrow'd exchanged, the same troop under different evolutions and change of tactic, that I began to doubt how far all this sublime idea were susceptible of anything beyond its own divine image and its altar at which I was disposed certainly to worship. For surely it is the all in all of the *high* perfection. But that *me deus intersit nisi, etc., etc.*, and this can rarely occur. This perhaps contributed to weaken a relish for the historical.

But the drums of this garrison warn me of the past.

Swift [4] of Connecticut (the New York papers say) is secretary of legation to France. I rejoice at the choice. He is a man of talents and law learning with a literary turn, and as author of the *System* [5] (law work) stands high. He is also a respectable speaker, and certainly a very respectable man. Dear sir, yours always, etc., etc., etc.

CLXV.

Rec. Dec. 4.

Ans. Dec. 6. 29 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The two envoys will embark about the 1st inst. for some port in Europe. Would they were arrived, the ground try'd, and the issue KNOWN!

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[1] Richard Cosway (1740–1821).
[2] Angelica Kauffman (1740–1807).
[3] Noel Joseph Desenfans (1745–1807).
[4] Zephaniah Swift (1759–1823).
[5] "System of the Laws of Connecticut," 1795–1796.

A torrent of violence, mixed also, in my opinion, with great crudity of information, seems to be dashing away on all sides against the mission, and the friends of government seem to consider the government as "humbled past redemption"! I will cut out a column of young Fenno's[1] paper—his own. It is a mere thunder cloud, obscure, noisy, full of sheet lightning that confuses, without well digested and concentered streams; but it shows the atmosphere's character. They are I suspect a little disjointed. I can see too that I am the object of criticism, not only for the thing as far as I was a channel, but also (*entre nous*) for the smallest expression of politeness which I used in my first letter to Talleyrand, and my answer to his containing the assurances which were almost an echo, in which I thanked him for the promptitude with which he had forwarded the answer of his government. The word "respect" at the close is even most severely CLEVERED, though I find it in much of Colonel P[ickering]'s correspondence with Adet, whom he justly did *not* respect, and in that of Hammond to Jefferson and to Randolph, though the first certainly felt nothing of it—is well known. In fine I feel deeply hurt, and fear that among some of our excellent characters, unconversant in the European world, there is a radical error in taste and judgment which leads them to mistake a dry, or a style approaching to slight, for spirit—words in fact for war!

Pichon too, damn him, has play'd a fool's and a perfidious part. (I wrote immediately to him yesterday.[2]) He, or some one for him, but he, I presume, has published Talleyrand's letter to *him* of 11 Fructidor which he gave me a copy of confidentially, and under an absolute promise of secrecy of *its never being published!!* without a verification, (to the published copy in the Jacobin paper, "*The Examiner*" in Virginia) "that it is an exact copy of the one he gave me to be sent to the President of the United States at the Hague," *without* the *explanation* which would have saved me some trouble with him, viz. "that Mr. M[urray] would not have received this, but would have returned it upon my hands with marks of personal contempt, unless at the moment of his reading the first passages about British impressions I had explained away what he considered as offensive; and if he had believed it possible that it would ever see the light without that explanation." *So* I have written yesterday to Mr. Pichon. Some day I will send you a copy. Well, this letter now I suppose makes an immense clatter in a nation where indeed a set of infernal Jacobins on one side and grey feds on the other can turn anything that impudence dare to publish or folly can write, into things of consequence. In the mean time an absent man is torn to pieces!

[1] John Ward Fenno, who had succeeded his father to the United States Gazette. The article appeared October 19.

[2] Having received my letters on the 27th evening. *Note by Murray.*

In fact, my dear sir, I have suffered greatly ever since the evening of the 27th—day before yesterday—more than a man of my age ought to do, more than a sound man and a faithful one ought to do, however weak and mistaken in judgment I have been during times of great and complicated difficulties.

And a pretty part I fear the federal men, some of them, will play division at the moment when Union is essential, with a government so popular, with gentlemen so assuming, whose very friendships may be called unconstitutional, because obtrusive when *not* called—it will require the FIRMNESS of your father to have a chance even for anything good in negociation! However the new Congress collectively and in the seat of government will be a very different body from what they are scattered—each one insulated, and feeling the feverish gossiping of every country village. The majority will be with administration, and the middle of the session will have the news of the downfall of the French constitution. God bless you, Dear sir.

Judge McKean [1] has carried his election as governor of Pennsylvania against Mr. Ross,[2] the federal candidate, and it seems this is attributed to the mission!! [3]

To TIMOTHY PICKERING.[4]

THE HAGUE, *1 December, 1799.*

SIR, On the 27th ulto. I received your letter of the 4th October on two subjects, viz., my letters to Mr. Talleyrand of the 5 May and 18 May, 1799, and the treacherous publication of Mr. Talleyrand's letter *to Pichon* of the 11 Fructidor last year.

I request the favour of you to give that letter a cool and deliberate re-perusal, and to do me the honour of weighing the following remarks:

I had the honour to receive the President's commands, through you, to inform the French government, or rather the Minister of Exterior relations, "that Oliver Ellsworth, etc., etc., etc." This I was ordered to do "by letter." This I did; this letter and the one which was a consequence of it is the subject of your complaints on account of its manner, and united with the publication of a piece which I ought to have dashed in P[ichon]'s face—the ostensible causes of the loss of your esteem.

I vindicate my letters, sir, when so harshly and cruelly attacked. I vindicate them diplomatically, as proper from me though *an agent of the United States near the Batavian republic,* because I was UNKNOWN *to the government which I addressed,* and towards whom I had *no diplomatic relations,* none, no more than, had any young or

[1] Thomas McKean (1734–1817).

[2] James Ross (1762–1847).

[3] Adams to Murray, November 3, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to McHenry, December 2, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 429.

[4] From the Pickering MSS.

old American been travelling in Italy or in Spain and received orders to communicate, would have had. In point of *fact*, certainly Mr. T[alleyrand] knew me, even personally; but *officially, governmentally*, he did not know me, as a man *authorised to communicate* THE INTENTIONS *of my government in a case which was to be or not to be the basis of a governmental act of high importance* on their part, and naturally nettling to their pride! Such then, sir, was my situation diplomatically speaking: such I believe every countryman of mine who has been a minister abroad, if asked, must admit was my real situation.

Towards the French government then, sir, as this was not made through the intervention of a neutral power, I was to be considered *as writing a private letter*—or AT MOST *a semi-official one.* Hence, sir, the style, for it is merely a discussion of that, a style proper for an agent appointed and *ready to show his powers and authority to open the way to negociation*, is one thing: that of a man *unknown to the foreign power*, ought to be different. If in that which I adopted, I have erred in the eyes of the President, I lament it! for, sir, I have no haste to excuse me; having thought over my actual relation to the government which I was ordered to address, at least three hours, before I could settle upon the sort of style of the passages introductory to the comma'd body and substance of the letter, which was proper. I hope that you, sir, have that excuse for your criticisms; if not, you have indulged your feelings very much indeed, and estimated the intercourse between *individuals accredited* near *one* government but *unknown* to *another* government upon principles too familiar. Though in relation to my own goverment I have the honour still to be an agent, yet this is *unknown* to the French republic, or any other *government*, except that with whom I am accredited. The moral sentiment was perfectly out of the question. Whether it be wise and proper to treat with a vicious and domineering government, is a question in which these moral considerations would justly meet with great weight; but if a government be to treat, the course, the ceremonies, the actual and technical relation of one thing to another, of one agent to another, of government towards government is to be follow'd. The Jacobins, if I remember well, attacked in the true special pleading spirit, Mr. Jay's adherence to polite language—*though he had letters of credence in his pocket!*

I was bound to consider the object as agreable to my government, and success as honourable to it.

I then, sir, considered that an air of *empressment* in handing to the French minister *the substance in the commas of your orders*, was the best style; that it was but drapery, mere "leather and prunella" to a piece of substantial dignity, which suited an occasion presumed to be agreeable, and which suited *me*, who was *officially* speaking *unknown* to the governemnt *which I addressed.* No, sir, they can

gather nothing, nothing from what has so unnecessarilly excited your resentment and produced the loss of your esteem. [*Two lines are blotted out.*] (I beg your excuse for this blotting!)

Give these men a proposition, concede an article, they will turn heaven and earth to make advantage of it; give a finger they will if possible drag the body too with it; make to them a substantial explicit and dignified demand and they are too clever to imagine that the pith of the demand is weakened though it may be more pleasing, if a bow attend its introduction. Words of roughness never add dignity to weakness; words of mere civility no more detract from substantial strength, and dignity of measures, than an embossed scabbard does from the polished and strong blade which it surrounds. Had the body and nature of the letter of 5th May been pusillanimous, there would have been more reason to be economically scrupulous in my share of it in wasting dignity. When we feel weak and humble, our fears are alarmed by the least thing that even remotely looks like like a diminution of importance. Strength feels not this minute inquietude and vexatious vigilance. Had I erred ten times as much, sir, as it is possible that even very grave men may think I have done, there was substantial dignity enough, and vigour enough in the body of that letter, (it was in fact the President's message,) to have sustained me, at least from such feverish charges as you have thought proper to make against me.

The assurances [1] which I still aver have been *extorted from a haughty and insolent government* will add to *the glory* of my country when the manner of my letters and of your critique shall be in oblivion. They will do this, sir, even now in Europe; but much more will they add to the early honours of the United States when history shall exhibit them among the few, I might say *as the sole*, instances, in which, during times of which I suspect it is impossible to have coextensive impressions at such a distance as you are, that republic, *so vicious* and so powerful, came down in that or in any other concession! Yes, sir, I say concession. If you ask me if to do a common act of decency be a concession, morally, I say no! historically and politically I say that even an act of common decency if refused, fought for, and yielded, is a concession, and one that will be or ought to be proudly appreciated by a calculation of the hazards and the dignify'd efforts that have obtained it and given it that magnitude which depends on circumstance.

In 1796, Gen'l Pinckney's first mission, they averred that they would not receive a minister of the United States till we had redressed their grievances. I speak of the point of pride, as to grievances they had none; they were and are on our side—I assert that, sir, because it may be necessary for even *me* to give to *you* that creed,

[1] Cypher.

at least that was Charles Lacroix's declaration to either Major Rutledge or Genl. Pinckney.

In 1798, we armed and fought, and in February, 1799, Captain Truxtun's glorious action settled our gallant but irregular hostility into well known unequivocal principles. She knew this. In May, 1799, they quit the ground of 1796, and come down to assurances to receive as pat almost as echo to the message! These things, the world's state considered, are brilliant in our young armorial bearings, they will be so considered, by the great bulk of Europe, and by all who will throw pecuniary calculation out of the Estimate of comparative national glory.

They *may* mean to *amuse*. No man who judges knowingly of their ways can deny that, but a victory is a handsome thing though a bad or negligent use of it may lead to an ambush! It is for governments to appreciate each step gained and each thing in all its relations, to place what adds to national honours in its appropriate niche, and not to be so far amused by it as after having gained it, to let it be a door for national danger. In governments I believe there is no absolute *end*, but all is a career of progression.

So far, sir, for my situation relatively, and the point of view in which may letter of 5th May (which naturally led to the last) is to be candidly considered: so far as to the way in which I am bold enough to say their object will be considered a very few years hence.

With respect to the terminations of them of "Cit. Min'r, etc., etc.," I will briefly remark, for I anticipate your fatigue and feel my own, that such a sort of criticism is absolutely new to my reading, and that either you and Messrs. Jefferson, Hammond, Randolph and Adet perfectly understood each other to use the term of "moral virtues," respect, as all gentlemen I always thought did understand it, or that there never was on earth such an unintelligible jumble of moral likings, hatred, contempt, and admiration, for I know not two that *respect* each other of the whole set of secretaries and ministers! Sir, you have been angry at the thing itself and no *manner* of success could have pleased you!

As to Mr. Pichon, if he did verify agreeably to the Jacobin *Examiner*, he is an imposter. I have written to *him* on 28, not as a minister but as a private man, though I was not in a temper fit to write to you. As to "dashing the paper in his face" it is a flourish! Hitherto I really had considered a foreign minister's *hands* as tied! It was given to me in the confidence of never seeing the light, and I thought might be useful. I sent a copy, speaking of his explanations, etc., etc. I cannot help regretting sincerely the loss of your friendship; the terms, the harsh and ungenerous terms, on which you have withdrawn it from such a man as I am conscious I am as an American, have helped me to bear it. I am, sir, your mo. ob. etc.

2 Dec., 1799.

P. S. If Col. P. have given ministerial opinions against Mr. M's. letters to Government to the public or to private men, Mr. M is certain of at least his frankness and candour in also either showing the enclosed or in liberally stating its grounds. The Colonel will feel more bound to do this, as his letter was not *numeroe'd*, and because Mr. M. though greatly inferior to the *publishing gentlemen*, hopes he is too sensible of official delicacy to publish.[1]

CLXVI.

Rec. Dec. 9.
Ans. Dec. 10. 3 December, 1799.

Dear Sir: From all I can collect I should suppose that the federal gentlemen generally hoped that the conditions of the President on which a mission should take place, would never have been acceded to by the French Directory. That the success being not desirable and contrary to even expectations the very channel of these assurances has become odious to them by necessary association, and every word of mine of course becomes criticised most ungenerously and unhandsomely, and in some cases with an illiberal spirit excusable but from a profound ignorance of the real state of Europe, and of even the true import of words of mere civility. Let me also remark to you that in this case I was *to consider success as desirable.* I was to know and would not know of opinions for or against it. I was ordered officially, and so acted *in relation to our government;* but I felt at the instant when I sat down to obey these orders, viz. to write to the Minister of External Relations of the French Republic, that I was not known to that government, though I was there to do a very serious thing. I first thought of the brusque, and wrote one copy in that tone. I thought that too dry for a proposition for a measure which though but justice, was in point of form and intangled as it was with pride—and with the previous declarations of that government[2] a measure of humiliation in the eyes of the world; that it was the *first* letter, that I was in point of fact known to be Minister Resident here, but technically, diplomatically speaking of the Directorial cabinet, to it I was unknown as an agent empowered to bring forward for the first time a proposition so strong, strong at least to France, considering all that had past and all her blustering and domineering. I altered and realtered, each time more and more adjusting my letter in form and manner with more civility, without relaxing the body of the letter over which I had no right. Its vigour remained, and if it entered and went out with a bow, the bend proved

[1] Adams to Murray, December 3, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[2] Vid. La Croix—never to receive a minister of the United States till the United States had redressed grievances—in 1796. *Note by Murray.*

the powerful elasticity of the back and body, and its vigour. No words can alter meanness and real servility, and in my opinion a lofty spirit never appears with the air of true dignity and courage but when its air is polite. The thing is the point—the rest mere finesse, an ornamental scabbard.

But really when I look over a bundle of Fenno's papers to the 10 October just received; when I see the sort of effect in the election of that vain conceited old rusty weathercock McKean—the license of the press in Philadelphia is terrible. The Jacobins set the example of personal abuse, the federal seem to follow it! Words hot and burning seem to be mistaken for dignity, and perhaps for spirit; inflated minds, vulgar and rude, long familiarised to utter violent feelings, not in *acts*, but in abusive or in rude terms, bring their critical taste thus formed to the judgment seat even upon diplomatic papers. Of course such papers must appear spiritless, and all of our papers may be carry'd before this tribunal too. It is true that there are other tribunals where wisdom, and experience, and taste, judge correctly; but when these pieces are thrown to the public they travel as well through the dirty slough as over the carpet where candour and knowledge judge them. From the little I yet know respecting the manner in which I am treated even by federal men, I foresee the necessity of resorting to that solitary but firm rock on which a man who is faithful and honest wraps himself up, and, without despising opinions, sustains him against them, and loses not his own good opinion! Vanity may have a share, certainly, in such consolations; but she is in good company if conscience is with her. I never rejoiced, flattered though I was by your [friendly] distinction, in my nomination. Such immense [responsibility] I always thought required men of more age than me, more generally known, a sort of popular character. I never had that except in my own country neighborhood, and that is a drop in the bucket. Not that I ever expected or panted after popularity on the score of this or any other measure; but I assure you that if I had supposed I should have lost the good opinion of a number of federal men, it would have hurt me. This I take for granted is the case, and my consolation is that these men seem to me to have very little system, that they let their legislative *acts* fall far behind their bursts of indignation; that their system is weak and their passions strong; and the last can be indulged commodiously in the grand paw of criticism, while the first trims along between peace and war, so as that it may be shaped to serve popular and temporary turns! Forgive this egotism, but it is a great and solid consolation to, dear sir, always yours.[1]

[1]Adams to Murray, December 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CLXVII.

Rec. Dec. 13.
Ans. Dec. 15. 6 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The ports here are believed to be unblockaded by the English, though there is no official account yet; but vessels do come direct from London to Rotterdam. In fact a steady blockade of these ports would be in effect an embargo on so many millions of merchandise in London that I doubt if the British could bear it. These gentlemen have unjustly condemned ships and cargoes because they came out last spring, both from the Meuse and the Texel; and while I wish them success against France, I do not lament to see them pinched in their own thumbscrews.

In my last I sent you a cutting of what I consider as federal Jacobinism, for the disease is possible. There are disloyal Jacobinical federalists, for Jacobinism is but the insubordinate spirit brought into overt acts of opinion and deeds, said and done. It is the active assertion of our own opinions against the doings of government; it demands a submission of these doings to its own ways of thinking, and sprouts up into the true Jacobin form when touched by disappointment, when crossed and snubbed.

I wish that Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] would come along, if they are to come, of which I do not doubt. Whether I shall be continued in the mission I *ought* to doubt, for I have received a most flogging, and harsh, and to my mind unreflected, letter from the Colonel—*private*, I presume, as it is not *numero*—on my letters to T[alleyrand] about the assurances. I do not know if with the consent of the executive—I believe *not;* because he, I dare hope, would have considered that, though I acted by orders of himself and officially in respect to him, yet that my letters to T[alleyrand], particularly the first inclosing the body of the message in the past tense, was the letter of a STRANGER, of a PERSON UNKNOWN to the government which I addressed; that such a letter was properly a private one, at most semi-official, because I, without showing authority, and without neutral intervention had to hand them a paper which WAS TO LEAD OR NOT ON THEIR PART TO A HIGH official act of their government. Whether they were vicious or good was out of the question. They were a government—I, towards them UNKNOWN—though in point of FACT, Mr. T[alleyrand] certainly knew me even personally.

I had heard that my letters had been considered as improper, that I should "feel pleasure in fulfilling" that [*torn*] "citizen Minister with perfect respect and high esteem." Consideration would have been better, but it would better suit a letter completely official, which they were bound to receive AS OFFICIAL, than one from a person to them

unknown GOVERNMENTALLY speaking, who brought into view an idea not a little humbling to their egregious pride, and absolutely adverse to their declarations in 1796 to General P[inckney], when they vow'd they would never receive till we redress their grievances. Vid. La Croix, etc., etc. A deserter, etc., and a suspected, could hardly have received a more ungenerous letter than the one I have! I have answered it as private, and have pushed in turn. Dear sir, truly.[1]

CLXVIII.

10 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The report about our prisoners being liberated is not true as far as I know, and I have that business under my care. It is true that fifty have been liberated from Saumur, and are now at Nantes; but our agent there, Mr. Dobree, gave receipts for them by name, promising that the same number should be set at liberty of French prisoners in the United States.

There have been efforts made by the late government even, *i. e.* by Mr. T[alleyrand], the Minister of External Relations, ever since April last to keep back decisions against our vessels. So some of the concerned have informed me, among others the Pigou, of great value. It was partly on that principle that I have mentioned, as I think I told you, to Guiot, that Mr. D[avie] was named in lieu of Mr. P. Henry, and since have contradicted the report that appeared in the Paris papers "that the mission was suspended." For I had letters of 19 October mentioning that it had been thought of but that Mr. E[llsworth] and D[avie] would sail in fourteen days certainly. When I say contradicted, I mean I have mentioned among my friends that it was not true, for I was immediately asked by many.

The sketches given in the papers of the new French constitution I begin to credit; at least to try the public pulse; and I consider the grand election, if not intended as the type of the monarch whom I believe they would if they could get back, at least as the character which, in the confusion which ambition will in a few years make of it, will lead to a monarch. Even if things rest as they are I consider the form as more susceptible of negociation than anything they have had, and with more faith; not that I have any idea of Warwick's,[2] or Italicus's[3] sanctity of morals. I rejoice that the 500 are crushed; it was a nest of privateersmen. Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CLXIX.

13 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If the consuls have given the order of which you speak, I have not heard except in your last. I believe that even

[1] Adams to Murray, December 10, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 442.

[2] Sieyès.

[3] Bonaparte.

were things to remain as they are, under consuls, and commissions without power, it would be better for negociation. LaFayette I believe is in Paris, with his lady and son. He left Utrecht without informing me, though I had some reason to expect that he would have told me. Liancourt was with me yesterday; tomorrow he sets off for Paris. Valmer left this a few days since, and the Maubergs have been there a fortnight. Generally they will not let the men of '91 return till after the new constitution is organized. LaFayette in going must either have been *invited*, or knowing that all the members of government and great officers would probably be either settled on or published in the Constitution itself when offered to the public for acceptance, resolved to be in fortune's path early. L[iancourt] says he ought not to push for any thing; that if he do, he will be laughed at. I had much to say to L[iancourt] on his book, and think I had the luck to make some impression. I had last summer written to him. He came to the Hague, and we discussed the passages, (a few which I had read) particularly that imputation against Colonel P[ickering] about the Seneca lands. He was then affected by what I urged upon his principles and delicacy. Yesterday he frankly said it was wrong, and wished he had omitted it. He is solicitous about the reception of the book in the United States. He hates Colonel P[ickering], he owns, because he says, "that he justify'd the murder of Louis 16th to the Indians after the reign of terror was known in 1794, and now is bitter against the French for cruelty," and that he had much against him on this account in his manuscript, but put it on one side. He is a true Frenchman, but to me an interesting character. He talked about our mission. I told him that the only thing which could be called unpopular which the President had done was to make and send forth that mission; that the military ardour had now reached the point when men feel and wish to act rather than talk; and though the President adhered to his plan of honourable negociation, after a vindication of our honour by arms, yet the turn of the public mind was now so high against France that it would require all his firmness to pursue his path. My object in so saying is this:

Colonel P[ickering] droops, I hope unnecessarily, over my language, which I think but envelope, as leading them to believe that we are SOLICITOUS, AND READY TO PRAY TO BE PLEAS'D!!! By G—d that is impossible! Now I know that L[iancourt] knows Talleyrand intimately, and that L[iancourt] secretly in Paris about a year since, conversed much with him at great risks to both. L[iancourt] will see T[alleyrand] in a few days, and both having known me in Philadelphia too, T[alleyrand] will speak to L[iancourt] about the mission, and very probably of me (as you know the French try to gain personal knowledge in such cases). L[iancourt] will recollect much of the

tenor of my conversation. Could they be impressed with the idea that John Adams, President of the United States, is the man most moderate against them, it would certainly, without letting down his principles, at least very much exalt the colour in which the public mind shows itself or appears, and they have rely'd on the public as being too cool for war. I told L[iancourt] that I judged from private letters and the newspapers. Do not suppose that I speak fluently about the President! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[1]

CLXX

24 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If I have been wrong in one of the grounds which I took in my letter to T[alleyrand]—the first, for after that, the second was governed as a matter of course by the manner of the first—I find it too late to correct the error. I inclose you my press copy of a letter I had the honour of writing to the President on the 16th inst. on that subject. I have some reason to believe that even that little circumstance will make a bad impression against me among the few even; as Mr. K[ing], in his of 14 November, which I received on the 6th inst., asks me questions about my letter which show that he has been told something of which a little is to be made. There are but very few men, to say nothing of duty towards our Chief, to whom I would take the trouble to write on an affair of reputation; this ought to take care of itself.

A few days ago I wrote a No. to the Colonel which will tire him I fear exceedingly, as it was tolerably long, and speculative—upon Boulay's introductory speech on the Constitution, and on that paper which I hold to be inestimable as a fair pact with the old theories, and as a very hearty abandonment of the new doctrines in France, of rights of man, sovereignty of the people, territorial integrity, and of ALL in point of *theory* with which they started, as to the great fundamental principles of a representative system. In this there is not one of these principles—no representation, no legitimate medium for the voice of the nation. A legislature, which has no right to legislate on the wants and sound policy of the nation, and not even to DISCUSS a proposition, is less than a *Parliament* of Paris even; for that could discuss ordinances and edicts, did do it, and in the fact of remonstrating after refusal, could obtain alterations and amendments, and had more rights than this legislature. The Consul alone is the channel of the national voice, as he proposes exclusively. Yet he has not an appointment to do this as the channel for the nation's voice, nor is there any way by which the nation can approach his ear *on the representative principle more* than *they could that of* L[ouis] 16 in 1780.

[1] Adams to Murray, December 15, 20, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 444, 445; Murray to John Adams, December 16, in Adams MSS.

A council of state, appointed and removable at pleasure (I speak of the Consul, for as to the No. 2 and No. 3 these are cyphers indeed), may now as under the old regime listen or not and propose to the GOVERNMENT, which is expressly omitted to be called by a word of definite *limits*, executive, and which the Jacobins last summer, you remember, made a point of after 30 Prarial. As to the Senat[1] it has no CONSULTUS, it is but the reservoir of the 5000 eligibles, and has but a power of doing mischief legislatively, to exercise a censorial power at the demand of its own offspring, the Tribunat, or the Consul, in annulling unconstitutional laws. Indeed, without being a monarchy, it is in its theory a greater departure from the republican system than the government of the EMPIRE, or of any state in it; and is an hundred miles more so than that of Great Britain. From the little time I have had to examine it and I have only thought of it as a departure from the revolutionary doctrines. I am too little acquainted with its relations to say whether it be not, as I suspect it to be, a reduction into a more regular form of most of the ancient bases of the French monarchy with different names, excepting the hereditary principle. You are better versed in the French monarchy I believe than I am. If it be as I suspect, it would be worth while—I mean in respect to our country—could the lines be traced where they fall in with each other. Perhaps I overrate the importance of this apparent phenomenon in France; but as yet I consider it, in respect to our country and the misguided in it, as a most complete answer to the party who have been working the overthrow of all regular governments—our own even! under the pretext of the new lights of France. An impatient man and a good one may say that the misery flowing from the practise for seven years was a good answer: it is, when we are not in the theory, or not willing to use it; it is not, when men are in these dogmas that have distracted the world. Such must have their new lights put out by the same lamp lighters who undertook to illuminate. This can be done by a fair exposure of the new doctrines; their effects are known, and by a development of the present constitution, and its preface which are a DECLARATION *against* the late erroneous doctrines; promulgated too by the professors of these doctrines, who now declare them UNSUPPORTABLE, and horrible in the attempt to practise upon them; who do not abandon them as matters of a perfection too exalted to be attained, but as chimeras unattainable and absurd, and as dreams of PHILOSOPHISM.

If you think as I do, I pray you to draw your strength into action. As to what I did it was a couple of sheets of general remarks upon B[onaparte]'s speech and the constitution, as a *departure* from the revolutionary *theories*. There is no country where such a piece, if

[1] Yet I rejoice to see the Senat conservative—in for life—irremovable—self-elected!!! *Note by Murray.*

published—even without signature—would have more extensive effects; as there is no one where men talk so much and so well on such subjects. Our disease, in relation to France, has been in an overheated imagination on the very points on which this constitution settles the question. This, incorporated with Anti-ism, is at the bottom of much of the public false opinions or restlessness. The Anti's have pinned their cause upon the triumph of the principles now formally abandoned by France and her revolutionists, and the fall of these will greatly tend to the overthrow of those, if a good use be made of this late event. In this point of view I consider this constitution as important, whether the war continue, or whether Louis 18 be brought back, or the Consul continue, or not. The contest *was*, wild theory against social order and the old governments or independence of nations. Now, it must be for POWER and territory; it can not be *republicanism* against *monarchy*. *French republicans* against all settled governments! Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie arrived in the *United States* at Lisbon the 28 ulto., after twenty-four days at sea. So the Paris papers say, and private letters to merchants from Lisbon. I have not yet heard from them nor received orders. Nor do I follow the ROUTE. I rest on my oars here. Mrs. Adams I hope is perfectly recovered. We have snow and six degrees warmer; it has been excessively cold. Lucky our friends went to Lisbon! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc.

In waiting for my secretary to bring the inclosed I missed the post hour. I have for the first [time] read Cambacérès report on prize causes and laws, etc., etc., and I read it with pleasure, as a symptom and a confession. "La course était devenue," says he, "un brigandage." That may be worth something. When I saw this I sent a note requesting the *suspension* of a suit at Rotterdam against Mr. Beeldemaker for 10,000 on a bond he entered into when the captors of the ship *Farmer*, April 17, 1798, appealed for the *ship*. The cargo *was* condemned, and the *ship* too on appeal; so the bond is in suit.

A Mr. Georges, late Palatine Minister at Rastadt is here—in private, I believe—just from Germany. He says (I hear) that Austria and Russia will be reconciled. Tell me, shall I leave your bale of books in a chamber in the Hotel of the United States, where mine will be packed up also? An old woman lives in the old castle. I paid my 500 guilders as a year's rent, gave warning that I should quit, and moved to a small cheerful house in the large Voorhoud, where indeed our health evidently mended. Pray make my Xmas compliments to Mrs. Adams and wishes for a "*merry one*" It is very long since I saw a merry Xmas! I long to see one, to laugh once more and be a little natural. I am tired of men and women of WOOD.

I have not heard from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie]. They have arrived a month tomorrow at Lisbon.

A thought has occurred to me. May they not be so struck by the supposed difficulties rising from a new government in France, and in regard to credentials, *and in being the first to acknowledge* the new constitution, before any great power in Europe has, that they may hesitate? For myself I feel not much force in this, but they may. 27 December, 1799.[1]

CLXXI.

3 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: A happy new year to you and yours! It does open I think under better auspices than any for ten years past, and will close the 18th century more happily than seemed at all probable this time twelve months past. . . .

I hear not from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] at Lisbon. They probably wrote by London, and the Hamburg-English mail does not come, in consequence of the extreme cold and the ice. Above a month has elapsed however since they arrived. They are in a soft climate probably pondering over the state of Europe, but in a place less informed except by English papers than Philadelphia; while I am freezing in the marshes of Holland, and burning with impatience *to know what may be their intention.* Smith however is there, and is doubtless acquainted with the course of affairs on the continent, has great general intelligence and sound parts, and is well disposed, while he has true American pride. I rejoice they have so good a friend (he knows Mr. E[llsworth] well) to chat over affairs with.

They quote *Washington* as the rôle for Bonaparte in the committee of 500. Strange how they confound everything! But little Caesar seems resolved to play a game strong as their stomachs will bear. Yours, dear sir truly, etc., etc.[2]

CLXXII.

7 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I did miss a post or two, but in revenge wrote since letters of unmerciful length to you—enclosures, etc., etc. I thank god I am not sick, but I rarely can say that I am well. One has in this terrible air, and in the midst of a good and honest people who have so tomblike so cold a character, rarely a sense a lively sense of existence, unless you tumble on the ice, or see a walse danced. I have been here two years and a half, and I swear that I seem estranged more and more from them. The moment the eyes had done with the visible marvels of labour and patience, the intercourse ceased certainly between the mind of the stranger and Mynheer in his paradise. One never can be angry, but rarely if ever pleased; and but for revo-

[1] Adams to Murray, December 30, 1799, in Adams MSS.

[2] Adams to Murray, January 6, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 446.

lutions and the exterior affairs a man would be indeed benumbed. The weather has been excessively cold—it is now three above freezing, and thick fog which I prefer to clear cold. Particularly here, where it really has the effect of *variety* and change of landscape. Mrs. Adams I see by your letter is restored. Otto and his wife are here waiting for a vessel and orders. They dropped cards on us a week since, and we returned their cards, and saw them at Mr. Van der Goes's. You will soon have Beurnonville. I wish to see what Prussia will do, for I consider the republican revolutionary spirit as laid in Europe, if the present French constitution stand; and of course the motives of Prussia as so far modify'd on the policy of joining even her against A[ustria] and R[ussia.] I hear not from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie.] The ice at Hamburgh must be the cause. Dear sir, I am always and truly yours.

Did you [know] Ruhnken[1] of the University of Leyden? His death last spring furnished an occasion to Wittenbach,[2] who has succeeded to our worthy and enlightened friend Luzac, to write his life. For my part it is amusing to me to see a man thus announced after death.[3]

CLXXIII.

16 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: We have nothing new except Sémonville's arrival; Augereau[4] not yet arrived.

I had observed the notice of the repeal of the law of 29 Nivôse, and a few days since I received from our agent at Nantes a copy of the Minister of Marine's letter to their consul at Corunna, ordering the suspension of the sale of the *Frederick* and cargo, because he says the law of 29 Nivôse is repealed, and the *arrêté* of 29th Brumaire last indicated a determination to do justice to neutrals. But I know not what is that late *arrêté*.

I am particularly unlucky in not having received a line from my colleagues, though they have been in Europe near fifty days; the severity of the season however accounts to me for the failure of their letters.

I have just run through a work called the "Dix huit Brumaire" the history of. It is by Lombard, an honest and worthy man when even here. You will find that he as well as Jaqueminot,[5] President of the Commission of 500, holds up our Washington as the model for Bonaparte, and his power as their apology for a strong executive. Virtue will triumph in the long run, if once it have had a lofty station in worldly affairs, while Brutus—and I rejoice at it—is torn down

[1] David Ruhnkenius.

[2] Daniel Wyttenbach (1746–1820).

[3] Murray to Pickering, January 8, 1800, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, January 11, 14, in Adams MSS.

[4] Pierre-François-Charles Augereau (1757–1860).

[5] Jean-Ignace Jacqueminot (1758–1813).

from his assassin celebrity. Early in life I condemned Brutus. Hume, I think, taught me, or something better than Hume, nature. Mind I do not touch upon your favourite, Cato of Utica. He did not assassinate, I believe. The weather softens, and my friendships and better affections return upon me again. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc.[1]

CLXXIV.

Rec. Jan. 31.
Ans. Feb. 4. [26 JANUARY, 1800?]

DEAR SIR: I do not know what motive could carry Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] to Lisbon. It is a very awkward place for continental intelligence. I have as much authority for supposing that they embarked again, supposed for France and Holland, on the 18th of last month, as that they ever did arrive at Lisbon, viz. the official consular news to this government, received on the 7th inst., and letters from our agent, Mr. Barnet at Bordeaux, received on that day. But no one has received letters from them or brought by them! I have not—not one line. I have naturally attributed this silence to the miscarriage of letters, and I just hear that lately a Lisbon packet, and a New York Packet bound to England, have been captured by French corsairs, and that two packets for Cuxhaven are lost on the Vogel sands—a rare concurrence of things to keep me uninstructed. As I am a providence man, I am willing to think *for the best*—for our country—though domestically for Mrs. M. and myself, extremely embarassing. . . .

I have heard of men who grew grey from scenes of shipwreck. This climate and the French infernal revolution have not made me grey, but really very old, for a man who was your companion when you had not shaved. Mr. Welsh of Boston dined with me yesterday. He gives a good account of the public spirit in Boston. The fine frigates built by that town and by Salem have both sailed on their cruise last spring; the keels of the six 74's were laid in the summer. I wish a sloop and two frigates were in the channel to pick up some of the long French privateers, an action there would carry striking effect.

B[onaparte], the consul, is very anxious I believe for peace, that is, to remain consul for ten years, with the chances of something stronger. Certainly he also is politic in attempting to place the odium of one more campaign on the coalition, but his own ambition and interest is to make peace. You have seen his letter to G[eorge] 3, and the answer.[2] Yesterday morning a courier came from P[aris] at night. I learned that B[onaparte] has sent another courier to London with fresh proposals. At twelve I had given Mrs. Otto's brother a passport for London.[3] He is a citizen of the United States. He told me

[1] Adams to Murray, January 25, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 448.
[2] "Annual Register," 1800, 209.
[3] *Ib.*, 215.

he should embark at Scheveling in the night, where another American, Mr. Griswold, embarked ten days since without difficulty. At night I learned the above, and that young St. John was also charged with communications for Otto, who went ten days since—his wife, I hear, still here. Barthélemi, who has passed some days at Amsterdam, and who arrived here night before last, dined yesterday with Sémonville, who arrived five days since, and instead of remaining here a week, as I learn he intended when he left Amsterdam, set off for Paris last night—so I am informed. Bourne informs me that B[arthélemi] told him a variety of curious tricks of Rewbell and Lepeaux in the Lille negociation, 1797. He would be the fittest man they could send, if they mean to tempt England by terms, and cessions—as Belgium, etc., etc., etc., and I rather believe that B[onaparte], to keep the sceptre, would give up Belgium. The ensuing campaign, unless folly is more foolish than ever, will probably deprive him of both, and I believe that he fears that. Mrs. M[urray] is sick with a sore throat. Yours, my dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.

As to credentials, I rather think that let them be addressed as they might, B[onaparte] would accept them as sufficient. He could not do a thing which would unite the banking, mercantile, and manufacturing interests more in his favour, than to make a treaty with the United States; and for him it would indeed be a great thing. Prussia recognizes the new French government.

I am glad that Ruhnken had a pretty daughter. She must have given you more pleasure than the sour old Lingo, for he seems to have been nothing but an old pedant.

CLXXV.

31 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: At length I have news from Lisbon. Last night I received a letter from Mr. Smith there, telling me that the envoys are there (15 December) and will sail the first fair wind for L'Orient. It is *said*, since, from Bordeaux, that they sailed the 20th December. They have not been heard of since, and I begin to fear some accident—great damage having been done to shipping all that month, and many shipwrecks having taken place. I also received a letter from Philadelphia of 26 October, but no news. I had also the honor of a few lines from General Washington on mine, respecting *a friend*[1] *of his who wanted to go to the United States.* Like himself, he expresses his wish that the combined (and then victorious) powers might know where to stop and sheathe the sword, and not be carry'd away by the gale of success. We may all wish, even Washington might, in vain! They think that they have their enemy "on the hip," and they will try the fall. Were I even a royalist Austrian I would wish for peace

[1] Lafayette.

at this particular moment, because though another campaign *may* restore royalty in France, yet it may not; and if it do not, will probably overturn Bonaparte's monarchy, and restore the democratic reign of Jacobinism. But if B[onaparte]'s remain to take its natural course, it does seem to me that revolutionary republicanism is done in Europe. That wherever a revolution be now attempted, it will be on the old principles a mere USURPATION, and this is a disease very different from the French principles, objects, and doctrines of revolution, though these included the other. It is the greatest voluntary game which they have yet play'd. Unless they have a *certainty* of their object, they ought to negociate, that the present elective monarchy may stand long enough for the natural feelings of the nation to operate to its gradual absorption in the old monarchy of France, which I think it would do in a few years. For it is impossible that the passions will not work there, and if they do B[onaparte] would not long hold the reins, though he would have broke the horses to bear them in the hands of their original drivers.

Augereau is here; nothing *done*, much apprehended; no one knows what. . . . I am always and truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

CLXXVI.

Rec. Feb. 11.
Ans. Feb. 12. 4 FEBRUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Day before yesterday I had your favour of the 25 ultimo, informing me that my colleagues had crossed over with Count Byland. I immediately wrote to Mr. E[llsworth] at Amsterdam, assuring him that he could no longer conceal from my vigilance that he was in Europe, that I kept too good a look out in Petersburg and the north of Germany not to know of his arrival in Lisbon two months since, and of his leaving it the 20 December. But behold, Mr. E[llsworth] was not at Amsterdam. Nor does Mr. Pitcairn say a word of the Envoys in his which I received yesterday, of 28 ulto. Count B[yland] must have mistaken some other gentlemen for them! I am however on the look out, and they shall not slip by. My friend, the Frankfort paper, has already given me intelligence of them when at Lisbon, and if they get as far as Augsburg in making a circle from the north, supposing B[yland]'s account correct, I shall soon be informed by telegraphs. However, levity apart, I have real fears for their safety. Yet it is strange, for a gentleman just from London says Mr. King would not write, as he supposed I had gone on; and he knows, I suppose, that I do not go without them, or their being in France.

A report is at Amsterdam of General Washington's death!! but I will not believe it. Last summer was the same. Sincerely do I hope that this too is false.

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[1] Adams to Murray, February 3, in Adams MSS.; February 4, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 450.

Bonaparte's second letter to the British I hear is repelled; that Lord G[renville]'s answer is, that the first answer must be considered as a reply to the second letter! I wish the combined powers may be in as good a situation at the close as they are at the beginning of his campaign. As Russia secedes, I doubt if they will be in a better; and France may and probably will be in a state relatively less tolerable as a power to have any relations with! That is the point which they seem resolved not to weigh with a diffidence which all history and particularly that of this war enjoins.

I do consider the new constitution as an immense and unexpected breaking down of the revolutionary democratic form and theory, and as such a triumph to the ostensible reasons for *continuing* the war that far, and as an obtained point solid in its good to the old governments, and therefore as one great reason for a cessation of war, under prudent peace establishments. For I believe that two years of complete peace would tend greatly to the *restoration,* which as a friend to the world's peace I ardently hope to see. If Bonaparte could get a peace, the continuance of this new constitution would be no longer to keep alive the question between democracy and monarchy. The example would not affect the monarchies so much as the late theory, form, and ostensible principles, would have done in 1797; and if it fell, as I think it would it would fall, to the old house from which it has been usurped. The daring personal example could not do mischief in this age. Nothing but what moves the mass of mankind can do that. And after a short peace, with such wrecks of whole nations floating as examples, it would be almost impossible to move the mass, however artful the pretext which usurpers might frame in the old monarchies.

Well, since it is your taste, I must indulge you at least in *theory;* but if ever I am king of the Choctaws, and we have an alien law, you must not enter the presence. You warned me against a theory which you thought to be too much in the style of walking the gunwale of morality, and ticklish; but I believe it was because my terms were not explained—using *good* means to a *good* end, in the same *manner* that wicked men use bad means or good means to a bad end. Vigilance, combination, plotting, espionage—a pretty list you will say—yes, to resist *illuminati.* Mind, that was my object—to have good *illuminati* combined and secretly working with equal activity, IF IT BE POSSIBLE, to keep men or women good, long, who once grow mysterious! But your and all the world's theory of Brutus (I did not attack *Cato,* I trust his example with you, as you are more happy and live in an happier time) that CAN NOT BE! It can not, indeed, my dear sir. I have spent many a paragraph to prove that in no case was it lawful (*i. e.* right) to resist a law of the United States by force, or to bear arms against the government. Not but that I know that there are cases in which despotism will be, and ought to be,

resisted by force; but in laying down a system respecting government, the exception is never to be placed among the possible rights. That excepted case need not be mentioned as permitted; it will find its time and place. So I think of the Brutus question; it is to be *feared*, not justify'd. No, I prefer Pangloss's optimism to the admission of that principle, "When all other means are exhausted," for the resources of man and of his god are never exhausted. I do not cant I assure you. Did you ever hear of a Dutchman who had killed himself? I remember no example, and though this climate has often reminded me of the disputes at least on this selfish question, I never become gloomy on it, as I could find no instance of such a failure of patience here. *Vive valeque!*

CLXXVII.

7 FEBRUARY, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR: It is true that we have lost the great and venerable General Washington! At first I would not believe it, but a Philadelphia paper states the adjournment of Congress and of the courts the moment that John Marshall, in a voice stifled by sorrow, announced from a private dispatch that great event in Congress!

I ought to tell you that I have announced it yesterday in a note to the Minister of External Relations, and in short notes to the corps. It is true he had no connexion with foreign political relations, but it was WASHINGTON'S death which I announced, a name beyond the common rules, and I thought, with filial affection, that I might dare to do it, though in his relations abroad a private man!

On the 4th I heard from Mr. Ellsworth and Davie. After four weeks from Lisbon they landed at Corunna, sent on for passports to Paris; and Mr. Talleyrand's letter with Mr. Sémonville paid me a formal visit to deliver at night (on appointment, not that there was mystery in it) informs me that he sent on passports on the 31 January to them. He sent one to me. I shall set off about the 18th; they can not be there before the 20th. I shall write by next post.

I wish you not to mention my letter to Colonel P[ickering] if you have not; I now think it was too warm. I shall write next post. Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc.[1]

CLXXVIII.

14 FEBRUARY, 1800.[2]

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I took leave, *pour quelque temps*, verbally in an audience of the five Directors, and am now at the Turenne, having sold my furniture as soon as possible after the certainty that was given me on the 4th at night of the arrival of my colleagues at Corunna, passports, etc., etc. I shall be off as soon as possible—

[1] Adams to Murray, February 11, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 451.

[2] I think; my papers are in a packed trunk. *Note by Murray.*

day after tomorrow, I hope. MM. E[llsworth] and D[avie] can hardly be there before the 25 or 27th inst. If one buys books cheap, your furniture pays for all good bargains; as I sold mine all together as 2 are to 5 less than it cost two years and five months since! Your box, baled, stuffed round and covered with coarse linnen, and corded, is marked M. A., and by me afterwards, Mr. Adams. It stands with my books which are in deal boxes marked W. V. M., in the left hand room as you enter the Hotel des États Unis in the Burgwall; where is an elderly working woman and her husband and daughter whom I put in, to air the house and sweep it occasionally.

B[onaparte], you see, crapes the colours for ten days in all the armies of the republic, in honor of General Washington. His statue also is to be placed in the gallery of the Tuilleries. The grandeur of his name has burst all restraints; it became too vast, and had laid its roots too widely, for calumny to oppose. Here also there is an affectionate display, indeed, true respect, shown to his memory. The Minister of External Relations has sent me by order of the Directory a very handsome answer to my note of the 6th. I rejoice now that I risked that step. I am sure it will be agreeable to the President and the government generally. Congress, I see by a French paper yesterday, are in mourning, in consequence of a message from the President on the event! And the Assembly of Maryland have ordered scarfs and bands for all public functionaries in the State to be worn during the session. All this, my dear sir, will do good, it will give a solid hope to the truly great of our nation of that exaltation to which it is permitted to aspire—honest fame—and will fortify their hearts in bad times. It is a public and solemn consecration of the principle of distinction and respect to great men of our land, against which principle the Jacobins of it ever since 1792 have contended.

Mr. S[émonville] said to a German minister here the other night "though our countries are in declared war I must advise you to send a Minister to treat with us, for rest assured, sir, we shall very soon treat." Write to me under cover to Mr. de Wolfe, banker, Anvers, to remain with him till he has my letter, or has seen me. Make our parting compliments to Mrs. Adams with kind respect and our wishes for your mutual happiness! God bless you, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CLXXIX.

ROTTERDAM, *17 February, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: We are here tonight, pushing our way across the marshes, sloughs, and wide waters. We shall be obliged to go by Gorcum, so full of ice are all the waters about Dort; but I hope to be in Paris as soon as my colleagues.

Now that I am off from the Hague—my original destination—I feel the full force of my new situation! I go on an affair which I NEVER anticipated when in America, and on one so greatly important! One great consolation and support is in Mr. Ellsworth on whose clearness, firmness and wisdom I rely, to supply the place of that prudence which I doubt in myself, and which even my friends doubt. My intentions are between God and myself, and I earnestly hope that we shall do the best possible.

If there can be a time more favourable than another to obtain justice in France, I think it is now. B[onaparte] wishes from self interest to establish character among the neutral powers of Europe. Our affairs will be, and he knows it, a touchstone. Sweden and Denmark (it is true they are remote!) look earnestly towards his conduct towards the United States in this new mission.

The Russians, it is *said*, remain, again. What puerility! Thinking that whatever recalls under good impressions the American character at this time would be of service to our country, I have sent my note on General Washington's death and Mr. Van der Goes's answer to Mr. Luzac, with Van der Goes's permission, and even his wishes. The answer is very good. You will see them—mine in the translation. Inclosed you have (notwithstanding the postage) a mark of Mr. Luzac's respect for General W[ashington]. The supposed letter from Baltimore is, except the first part which I took from a paper, my own to Mr. L[uzac] on the 5th inst.

Mr. Sémonville wants fifty million livres!! Flushing and a commercial treaty, and only 7,000 Frenchmen, instead of 25,000—the terms. They *can not* give it as quick as it is wanted, impossible. Augereau will *not* have the command, the struggle for which has so much alarmed them here.

The extract [1] which you had the goodness to copy for me from Mr. T. B. A[dams]'s letter can but cheer me, for I had feared that the noise and party writing would both harrass even the firmness of the P[resident], and do mischief. As to L's interference I did not believe it, though I had heard of it.

Farewell, my dear sir, I seem to take leave of you and Holland both together. It was here I bade you and your brother adieu in June, 1797, at the Turenne. Mr. Sémonville has shown me every possible politeness in relation to my journey. His lady's daughter, Madame Joubert, is a well bred, amiable, and most interesting and respectable young widow. My respectful adieus to Mrs. Adams.[2]

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[1] Printed in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 451.

[2] Adams to Murray, February 22, 1800, in Adams MSS.

CLXXX.

7 March, 1800. Saturday.

Dear Sir: On Wednesday last we had our first interview with the Minister of Exterior Relations. On my asking on what day it would be convenient to have an audience of the Premier Consul, he remarked, it was usual in our cases to have an audience after the negociation should be terminated; but there would be no difficulty; he would speak to the Premier Consul that evening. I mention myself, because though third named in the credentials (my commission *elder* than Mr. D[avie]'s—many months) I was obliged to be the organ of our wishes, as I speak a little French. The audience was fixed for the 17 Ventôse (being the day in course of public audiences lately established), today. The Premier Consul received us with a courtly frankness, asking which was each of us by name, and as he was obliged to address himself, he told me, with pleasure, and spoke to me immediately of the death of General Washington, of whom he spoke in praise, and then passed on. In fact it was a splendid levée, and he goes through the circle with a perfect but dignify'd ease. Mr. Talleyrand told me the commission of plenipotentiaries was appointed, and we should be informed tomorrow morning. I had before heard who they were—Joseph *Bonaparte*,[1] oldest brother of the Consul, *Fleurieu*,[2] author of voyages, and formerly I think Minister of Marine in L[ouis] 16th's time, and *Rœderer*,[3] councillor of state. It was supposed Liancourt and La Forrest would have been the two last—moderates. As yet I see no insurmountable things. I say so to you, but have no other correspondent on this topic.

The indignity, the ferocious insolence with which the other missions were treated, you know, were justly among the causes of our resentment. I have therefore mentioned the *reception* to you, and can generally say that we were handsomely received and with the honours, I speak of that extensive drapery and noise of martial music which I believe attends the reception of all ministers, and we have been treated I believe in the same manner as Ministers are usually treated in well regulated and showy courts—for such is that of the French.

Being a good deal bustled in many ways, and to get lodgings, I declare I can tell you less of public affairs than I could have done, if sitting in my little book room on the Voorhoud. After running over this large city to find lodgings, and having been a week today at the Hotel de l'Empire—a splendid and dear hotel, (formerly Labord's[4] the bankers, guillotined) we are at last at L'Hotel de Caraman, Rue St. Dominique, a private and elegant mansion of an emigrant whose lady now occupies a part of the house. My colleagues

[1] Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844).
[2] Charles-Pierre Claret Fleurieu (1738–1810).
[3] Pierre-Louis Rœderer (1754–1835).
[4] Jean-Joseph Laborde (1724–1794).

live together and are well. I requested you to write under cover to Mr. De Wolfe, banker, Antwerp; I now request you to write under cover to *Citoyen de Lessert & Co., Rue Coqueron, Banquiers, Paris.* I send this to De Wolfe. I have not heard from you since I left the Hague, which was the 17 ultimo. I can give you no intelligence from the United States, for in truth I have received none, and have only had time to examine my instructions which I received on the 3d. To accomplish these as far as in my power, it is my duty and will be my every effort. Your brother was just in his reasoning. The mission will be popular.

I beg you to write to me. I am once more without an atmosphere, without my ordinary habits, books, etc., etc. Will Austria treat, or will Great Britain? There is a talk of B[onaparte]'s going to the Rhine soon, but I can not believe it, though Paris might be safely trusted. You see how bald I am of news and of everything. It is not always so when a man leaves such regular machinery as I have lived in so long? I am always and everywhere, dear sir, yours faithfully.

Pray tell me in cypher what address to give you at Berlin or under [*unfinished*] [1]

CLXXXI.

14 April, 1800.

Dear Sir: We advance on pretty well. I consider two of their last notes as an *admission of the* [2] principle of *compensation.* From conversation with them also, for I hazard French, I consider that as agreed; what *terms* may follow you know we can not foresee. I write in confidence, not having mentioned a hint of such an idea to any one. I have told the Secretary some weeks since in a private letter that I had some reason to expect it; but as yet we have not officially sent one line, and I am afraid of sending many private letters, as I have already been basted with my own fat. I wrote a long letter to you as soon as I got out of bed, and sent it to Holland to go by post. I have had but one from you since I am here. My health and the only letters of value to me seem to have left me at the same time. I am still feeble—I fear consumptive—but I will write soon again. In great haste. I am, dear sir, always, etc., etc. etc.

CLXXXII.

19 April, 1800.

Dear Sir: I received your's of 28 March day before yesterday. *I doubt if France* [2] will make a brilliant campaign—such is the *want of money* and of all things necessary!! and though there will be less

[1] Pickering to Murray, March 10, April 9, 11, 1800, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, March 28, in Adams MSS.

[2] Cypher.

revolutionary treason on the other side, it is true there will be great folly, doubtless. *The Jacobins* are far from quiet. B[onaparte] has acted too much as Caesar did. He has thought it possible to exalt men of corrupt and base minds, who have a courage superior to all principles as well as dangers, up to a certain noble standard, and seems to have believed that the same age in which a brilliant military name could attract admiration, would be capable of a generous attachment. This would suit an heroic age, but not such times and such a people, where to be generous and just is to be to a certainty considered as an imbecile, and to be really good is to be weak. Lord, Lord *such a set*. To me there seems a greater probability for *the king than ever*. The campaign should be *against* France.

Baron Charles Bielfeld is here on his way to Madrid; he will go to Mexico on a voyage of natural history. He seems well qualify'd, and he seems also CURED, if some years since he had the political disease so common among the ingenious young men. Count Neal will tell you that he and his daughter have seen us (at third places). They both talk a great deal and properly of you both. We are *very busy—as yet no mountains*.[1] Yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.[2]

CLXXXIII.

Rec. June 3.
Ans. June 4. 11 MAY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: They admit that old treaties, IF EXISTING[3] will oblige them *to pay*, but that they are not bound *to pay as a* preliminary *to a new one*. I still believe that we *shall succeed*. *Union in the Federal party* would insure it, I do firmly believe. *We and* they are damned if that should not be *apparent* and *striking*, so as to make its impression here in the summer's doings, on the ensuing *election*.

Wherever there is demagogism of what ever party, there is aristocratical Jacobinism. It is self importance bursting out of the limits, within which, could it be kept there, it would be duty protecting itself by power, and would do good; as the puffing and bursting of the bass viol helps to give depth and volume to a well ordered concert. Yet that is a disease, I see, by which even we are most easily beset, and which thwarts the progress of sound subordination even among the friends of order. The measure, which we have heard made some little sowerness, I hear, grows daily in the public conviction as a popular and sound one. Would to god that *we may be able to fix it*.

Tomorrow I will send a few lines to *Luzac* from K[ing?]

I am better, but am exceedingly done up. So you will draw a foil on the sand, though you know you are to meet "St. George" there!

[1] This concluding sentence is not in cypher.
[2] Adams to Murray, April 25, Mar. 10, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, May 8, in Pickering MSS.
[3] Cypher.

Well, it is my fate; and if my system be to perish, let it fall by noble hands. So, so, sah! The Museum, indeed, I owe you all of it—out of sheer gratitude for your Dresden letters. I have seen it twice only. Whether it is that there is a time when admiration ceases either from a morbid sensibility, or in the course of our years and their effect, I know not, but I have felt nothing like warmth of taste, much less delight, in viewing all this noble collection; which certainly, I suppose, contains the master pieces of the divine art of painting. And your Raphael, even his noblest and sublimest subject piece—the ascension of Jesus to heaven, the great fact of the resurrection of man—he has not in this "called such a soul" to the canvass as bears that celestial countenance which alone can enter into heaven, particularly that of a divine man. And I find that most of the countenances in the Italian school—of Jesus and of saints—have a meanness, a vulgarity that shocks me—many of them extremely like the heads of jail birds, grave but tricky in the countenance. Such seems to me the fact. Was it that at the era in which these fine things were painted, the painter sought awkwardly in living heads for the beau ideal, and blended the squalid and grave habilaments of a monk's visage, with the living cunning of the dark Italian of those days? Yet they had the Apollo, in which I see great nobleness. For the men this has a godlike beauty, yet is manly and elevated in every trait. The Venus de Medicis, I see, has furnished most of the heads of the Virgin, and that when they quit that they have an ignoble countenance. I may mistake what is meant by the *beau idéal*. If it be a profound result from immense comparisons of individual up to general, I think that from all I see it ends in tameness, in sameness. Having long thought thus, a feeling that this ends in tameness, I do feel a relief in indulging nature, in spite of so strict a rule; in letting my affections and passions do their work in relation to what would seem to be their particular jurisdiction, as to the dominion of female beauty; and in this temper I turn from the Venus, as expressing geometrically what perhaps no man ever loved in the females who even approach her divine regularity. I then suppose that irregularity is almost essential to beauty, because I can not love regularity. The Venus's nose for instance is perpendicular from her forehead. I think so. Did you ever see a man or a woman that had—the first much cleverness, and the last that something which enchanted you—whose nose was not a little one sided, and even the two sides of whose face were alike? Look at your own lady, look through the court and the shops—if Mrs. Adams will trust you on such a pursuit of beauty. As to the *form* of the Venus, then I confess there is voluptuousness, but such a face. It is the absence of what is deformed strictly, *i. e.* faultless, by the rule; but what is the use of this rule, if it end merely in what is

faultless? And yet the pursuit to which this rule is to guide is nothing more nor less than BEAUTY—something which every man at some period of his life has adored in some living girl! No, our affections passions and all of our vanities are adapted to enjoyment, but not to the *beau idéal*, the perfect. This is true in government, eating, seeing, all our senses; and in all things belonging to human knowledge. Suppose the Hercules, for quiet strength, and the Apollo, for male, and the Venus for female beauty, established as the rule. Every painting would be nearly the same. This one sees in Angelica's figures; all would be the spiritless variegation of attitude, merely to tell the respective stories. Whereas in *landscape* there is a variety always growing, and this almost alone seems after all to me, to suit the real *powers* of the art. Claude's pieces of course, and Vernet's, occupy'd the principal share of my admiration. But this is little more than repetition; yet, as I had not seen before so many of Raphael's, I was bound to recant or to persevere. It is true I saw all in a crowd of people, and with very bad health. Can you favor me with a copy of my Swedish ghost—if it have not vanished? Yours, dear sir, most truly, etc., etc., etc.[1]

To SAMUEL DEXTER.

PARIS, *12 July, 1800.*

MON CHER MINISTRE: As I had the honour of a line from you now and then while you were Dear Dexter, you see I still take the liberty of writing. Alas! the times more than ever call upon us who esteem each other to be closer and closer! We just hear of the discord among men who call themselves of the same party. I have seen too much hypocrisy for three years; heard too much of "soft humanity" and "hearts bleeding with tenderness"—the crocodile [rogues!—to say that my heart bleeds at anything; but it is distressing to see at such a time the federal men deserting their chief. Personally, perhaps from vanity too, I feel very sore, when I trace the bickerings to an origin in which I was concerned! The whole seems to have broke out from the act of 18th and 25th February, 1799—the mission. That mission—I speak not of myself,—can and ought to be vindicated beyond the form of a letter; and I say if it had been possible to have foreseen the course of events in Europe in '99–1800, that was the measure precisely suited to the dignity of affairs of the United States. Forms of official civility, it may be, were less consulted than is necessary in a government of great Palatines, perhaps in any government, even where the responsibility is not on ministers but on the Chief; but as to the measure, as it turned out in reference to its first object and to the events of spring '99, its first object was further assurances. Had France been triumphant that spring, it is *probable* she would

[1] Adams to Murray, June 4, 1800, in Adams MSS.

have refused them, and referred to those which had originated the measure of 18 February; but as it happened she was generally defeated. My letter of May to Mr. Talleyrand found them in an humbled situation. She gave them. The second branch: when the President received the assurances last summer, he prepared the ultimate steps of the Embassy. He knew that France was humbled; that there had existed strong symptoms of a return of monarchy ideas and apparently even wishes; and that the revolution of Prairial failed but by accident, in some how or other accomplishing the monarchical speculations. Yet he wisely must have judged of the perfect uncertainty of anything respecting the French revolution, except that there were materials enough for several more years of change and bloodshed, and that the follies of a coalition must always be taken into calculation. *Vid.;* the last campaign in Holland, and on the Rhine, and Suwarrow's retreat. He sent the mission on. France had gone through one more change, which contained part of the views of Prairial; but Sieyès could not execute his whole plan. Bonaparte organised every thing, all power being in him, with great ability. The battle of Marengo the 14th June (last month) seems to have produced a general armistice, at least for Italy; this will in all probability end in preliminaries of peace. Observe, then, as far as the President is concerned, how either well calculated, or how fortunate his arrangements! They were adapted to go along with and to be rendered, agreeably to events, applicable to the times. *No measure of defence relaxed, negociation opened, ready to avail itself of contingencies.* Whereas, should a peace take place, which seems probable, and no negociation had been thought of, to say nothing of the uses which would have been made of the first indirect assurances, what would have been the political state of the United States in such case? No war having been declared; no willingness to make alliances; contrary to dignity to send ministers to a Congress for their first appearance on such a subject; but all Europe making peace. By putting negociation in train, he could embrace events and shape his negociation agreeably to them. By that he could have ministers on the spot to whom he could give, *without any change of system,* orders that might save us from the strange situation which a peace in Europe would find us in, if no mission had been at all on foot! We are not in war. We have no allies. Yet the settlement of our disputes rests upon what is in fact a treaty of peace, and all this will of course be materially affected by the turn of the victories which may lead to a general European peace.

Take the other course. Suppose no mission, conditionally named. We were not *in war;* but we were engaged in hostilities. It is said that the federal men wished to go on as they then were, *i. e.* no war, etc., etc., but defensive measures. By the bye our commissions of

marque are not merely defensive. Well in July, 1800, suppose the official intelligence to reach Philadelphia that a general peace seems upon the tapis at Paris. It would then occur. What is our position? If we now negociate it must be upon the indirect overtures which had been rejected in February, '99, for government had solemnly declared, 21 June, '98, not to send more envoys to France, except, etc., etc. So it would have been obliged either to go on with defensive measures without a state of war, or to take up that thread, the old assurances. Would there have been more dignity in a measure apparently forced than in the other, which properly considered, agreeably to the then state of Europe, maintained dignity by making the mission depend on further assurances, and yet kept a track open, which imposed no particular terms of negociation on our government? I cannot find any principle that can excuse so loose and undefinable a plan as that of remaining as we were February, '99, except that our friends calculated upon a *certainty* of *seeing the coalition completely triumphant;* because had they doubted, they ought either to make peace, or make war and have allies; but they were not for the first on Mr. A[dams]'s terms. Did they think of any better? But they did not make war, nor had they any ally who would be bound not to make peace till at least we should have notice. Thus according to their plan their views went only to means not to an end; to get along while the coalition lasted, without providing for the hour when that coalition might make peace, without knowing the United States as a party engaged in the war. The end, the ultimate object, is that which justifies a plan. Here I can find nothing but the means to some end. It is in vain to say we are as much insulated from the events that affect Europe, as we are geographically. We are not; we are in political contact, because we are a *nation*, keeping up a perpetual relation and sympathy with Europe and her dependencies, by commerce; and our political views must be governed by that contact. Belligerent powers here can and do act, not only on a plan, but can from local neighborhood, take their measures, any where, from ten days notice. Time is often incalculable, and the value of seizing the passing moment is proved among other things by the skill and expense with which each penetrates the interior secrets of the other.

The President was considered in Europe as a very able and very learned diplomat. We have many able political legislators; very few diplomatic men. He acted, it struck me, in spring of '99, as an able diplomatic man. I knew nothing of the manner. Vanity, it may be said, and it is true I was flattered, contributed to support its own hypothesis in my mind, it is possible; but I assure you as my old friend, that I did not wish a part in the mission; that had our government been near, I would have declined it, honored as I felt by his commission; for I feared more than I hoped, and was satisfy'd

where I was.[1] But two years hence the measure as an act of government will be looked bask to as profound and well timed. No man can answer for success. Yours always affectionately, my dear friend.

CLXXXIV.

Rec. Sept. 15.
Ans. Sept. 16. 20 August, 1800.

Dear Sir: In lieu of writing a long letter to you I will beg you to accept the enclosed, written early in July to D[exter], and a paper. By the first you will see how oppressed I have been by various appearances from the United States, and by the nonsense and absurdity of certain characters there. I wrote one upon the same principles to Colonel P[ickering] last autumn, and have indeed to others in Maryland, *on the wisdom of the measure*, which has so Jacobinically, united with ambition, been the pretext of so much absurd conduct. Smith writes me that his friends in Congress inform him that the President will be re-elected. A great aid to this, we here are conscious, would be a settlement *here*. Do not believe that we sleep over this estimate of the influence of a good end to our labour over the approaching election. We have all along felt it and worked to get along, but events have been very much against speed and success. No nation ever yet gave compensation on an end of hostilities unless treaties were put *in statu quo;* their principle is old treaties and compensation, or a new treaty and equality without compensation—because *war!* You can estimate this. Their instructions, which I *saw* after the Consul's departure, were diametrically opposite to the basis on which we started, and three months were lost in waiting for fresh instructions, as the French minister *appeared* to have come to a middle ground on which we would have met and saved much of our own plan. At last, a few days since, the new instructions are given. The same! We hope to conclude speedily by going *near* to them.

By the paper you will be able to judge pretty well, making an allowance for the Jacobin petulance. It is from an American displaced Jacobin here. Next day it was contradicted in the Paris papers. In fact they keep no secrets except *their own!* With respect to parties in the United States, I hear nothing, but that generally there is a division among the federalists, and that from Harper's letter I see they thought, in May, of running uniformly General Pinckney *also*. I have written to Harper on that subject as one fatal in a party election. But as to particulars, such as Colonel P[ickering's] dismission and its causes, I have not heard. Boston captain, who spent the evening with me last night, tells me of our Essex Junto—I had never heard of this; of papers from me, which had been withheld for some time from the P[resident]—this was all news to me, and

[1] A sentence follows which was struck out and is illegible.

may be incorrect; and of obstacles which Colonel P[ickering] is supposed to have thrown in the way of the negociation; the frigate going into Lisbon, etc., etc.

Duroc [1] returned last night. Mr. Sandos [2] has sent off a courier to Berlin on it. He and the consul had five minutes chat at the audience today. I could hear the words war and peace, but could pick nothing out—certain. It seems thought here that some thing *altered* from the propositions sent is *done;* others think that the silence is a proof that Duroc did not succeed. Silence proves nothing where there may be a motive to conceal *every* step, even successful ones. But we are all in the dark. Masséna is said to be arrested, and Brune put into the command. If B[rune] is put there, it would seem that the Consul expects peace in Italy.

Today we have made a move which will bring things to a speedy conclusion.

Mr. E[llsworth] was supposed in the United States to be originally against the mission. Be assured that he is heart and soul occupy'd to make it succeed. So is D[avie]. So am I. For the last six weeks I have been, and so were they, extremely occupy'd. I beg you to be disposed to excuse my silence, and you will do it. I am affectionately, always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

Mr. Dryer, late Minister here from Copenhagen, was today at the audience, though he has not yet had his letters of credence. He has just returned from Spain and left this on a formal *recall.* Denmark is supposed to be treated on the very best footing, but the poor armed neutrality will end without even smoke I suspect. B[onaparte] is said to have felt the usual influence of success, has grown less moderate in demands. Were the Court of Vienna less infested with women—the general weakness of imperial courts—it could refuse hard terms; as it is, and Prussia being either hostile or immoveable, she must make peace. There was a great division here lately in the administration, but without changes they are together again. You will see if B[onaparte] lasts. Monarchy institutions under new names—that is the plan, what they call after Blackstone—the Pyramid.

I have from a good hand that Duroc stopped at the Austrian advanced posts, and, as was agreed, St. Julien went on; to either send a passport for Duroc or an envoy to meet him. The last was preferred by the Emperor, who sent Captain de Lehrbach. That some alterations took place in B[onaparte]'s propositions. These Duroc brought back. It is pretty certain that though St. Julien came here on affairs purely military, yet that he *listened* to more, and that something was signed by B[onaparte]—probably his own propositions which Duroc carry'd.

[1] Geraud-Christophe-Michel Duroc (1772–1813). [2] Baron Sandoz-Rollin.

I pray you to excuse this sort of scribbling. I do return as I would be done by then with the regularity due to you.[1]

CLXXXV.

Rec. Oct. 18.
Ans. Oct. 31. 27 SEPTEMBER, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR: Last night we finished the work to copying off and signing. For the last twelve or fifteen days, they have been serious and attentive, and we have done a great deal in conferences. We shall make as good a treaty as indeed could be expected—observe a *provisional* one. The arrangements in it, *upon its principles,* fair and honourable to both. We shall save a great deal of property *not yet judged* definitively, by the application of rules of decision to its trial; and till the signature, which in all probability will be the 30th, the council of prizes will we hope receive orders to stop the trials, as the French ministers, before we rose last night, wrote a letter to Mr. Talleyrand, praying that orders may be given to that end, instantly. If we have not accomplished every object of the government of the United States, we have done all in our power—all I believe which any others would have done, all that could be expected in the present state of our relations, and of the world's affairs! We, at all events, put an end to the equivocal state of things, draw the government of the United States out of the quarrel with honour, and establish honourable rules for the future. We shall have given the pacification of the two nations to the administration of the President, who set on foot the energetic measures which authorised any negociation at all, who pushed these as far as our constitution permitted, and who then, and not till then, bent to the pacific idea. In fact, my dear sir, if the treaty we make be ratify'd, as I hope, the United States will have, it is true, paid a tribute to the miseries which have overwhelmed the world, with no expense to their honor, and with as little to their pecuniary interest as possible! Our state has been very equivocal, as to peace or war; and yet we have been demanding INDEMNITIES. We have thought it our duty to dare a little, to snatch the United States from the doubtful station, and as the prospect is a permanence to the French Republic, at least no submission on the part of the French nation, to make an amicable, but be sure an honourable, arrangement with her for our country. In the doing of this be assured that the honour of your father's administration has had a great influence with myself. I dare say so to you! You will appreciate the present state of Europe, and of the world. Convinced as I am of the profound policy which has directed him, in some respects in opposition to the unripe and inconsiderate politics of some others, I dare anticipate the pleasure with which he

[1] Adams to Murray, September 15, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 468.

and the vast majority of the nation will receive the treaty, as a great *political* measure in the present times it must be well received.

My colleagues have acted from the first jump with the clearest and most pressing sincerity.

I confess, my dear sir, to you that I am extremely rejoiced at it, even as it is; and I shall return to the Hague with more pleasure than I left it, because though we have not accomplished all, we have, I dare think, made a better treaty than the last mission might according to their instructions have made; and because at all events, if our folks are as wise as they are honest, the storm will have been honourably passed, and our country tranquil. My next will be from the Hague. My colleagues will go immediately after signature.

Yours, dear sir, with the sincerest esteem always. We shall sign on the 30 inst.

CLXXXVI.

PARIS, *October 1st, 1800.*

SIR: We have the honor to inform you that a provisional treaty was yesterday signed between France and the United States, which if ratified re-establishes the relations of amity between the two nations. We are, sir, respectfully your most obedient,

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.
W. R. DAVIE.
W. V. MURRAY.

CLXXXVII.

Rec. Oct. 25.
Ans. Oct. 31.

PARIS, 5 *October, 1800.*

MY DEAR SIR: I delay'd writing to tell you the thing was done, that I might also inform you of the fête given on the occasion by Joseph Bonaparte, the president of their Commission; and also because, though we signed it the 30th, and sealed, etc., etc., yet a mistake of their own in the stile of their government, republic instead of Premier consul, which was omitted, but necessary, gave us something to do—partly gracefully and partly interestedly, as we changed the title from provisional treaty, which was disagreeable to us, to convention, and got out the declaration that it was originally written in French though signed in French and English. This alteration was to be made by new signatures and a fresh sheet or two at the fête, which was given the 3d at Morfontaine, a noble chateau gardens and park of J. B[onaparte.][1] It was suddenly made up, as my colleagues would not agree to delay their journey to Havre farther than the 4th. The whole character of the fête champêtre was highly complimentary in all its features, and splendid and courtly, and friendly. I tell you of a fête, because our last commission was so terribly treated! It's being done after the treaty was signed was the more agreeable. Perpetual peace between

[1] Not national estates, but bought by him of the heirs and Mr. Morfontaine. *Note by Murray.*

France and the United States, and the successor of Washington, were drunk to the sound of cannon. We gave no toasts; there were but three, by the three consuls; for to give dignity and éclat to the fête the government was there; the ministers of state, members of the senate, tribunat, council, secretary of state, generals, all the family of the Bonapartes, and the foreign corps. A splendid dinner of at least, I think, 150 covers, in saloons *en champêtre* united to the chateau by temporary *berceaux* of foliage, and wreaths, and flowers, full of emblems, transparencies, busts, and lustres, etc., etc., etc., music, and cannons, coffee after. This chateau, court, avenue and gardens illuminated; then fire works in the gardens; after, a comedy in one wing of the building ended by songs in honour of the treaty, or reconciliation. This brought round 3 o'clock in the night. We lodged there. Mr. E[llsworth] and General Davie seemed much pleased. A sketch was made of the gardens by Mr. Piranesi of Rome (late Swedish Minister at Rome), an artist of name, which will be I believe etched or engraved.[1] A concert before the play I forgot to mention, in which were Banti,[2] Garnt, Kuntgre and Frederick, and the most celebrated performers of Paris. In fine (as Brune said) it was a very pleasing noble compliment to our government and country!

I this moment hear that my colleagues have broke down—a thing I expected from their carriages—and are this morning but at St. Denis. So that McHenry, my secretary, who insisted on going to the United States in the frigate with them, and who set out at four this morning, two hours after my return, will reach Havre before them. He is an amiable young man whom I suffer to go with regret. La Fayette went in our carriage with Mrs. M[urray] and me, and returned with us this morning. The Consul was very civil to him, notwithstanding he would talk about liberty. He is a good but most incorrigible disciple of the true Sangrado school. It is impossible to know him much and not to respect his general turn of thinking and esteeming him, but he profits not from the past.

I set off for the Hague on the 10th to my post—from envoy extraordinary down again to minister resident. I am contented with this arrangement and the corps may stare, if they please.

Before I left Morfontaine the Consul received a dispatch from the telegraph of Moreau's news—Thugut[3] dismissed, Lehrbach in his place, Cobenzl to come *here*.

By papers as late as 6 August no yellow fever in the United States!! Yours, dear sir, truly, etc., etc.

Inclosed I have the honour of sending a note signed by the envoys of the United States.

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[1] Francesco Piranesi, son of the well known designer and engraver. The plan of the fête was engraved and published, and a copy in colors is in the Library of Congress.

[2] Georgina-Brigida Banti or Bandi (1757–1806).

[3] Johann Amadeus Francis de Paula, Baron Thugut (1736–1818).

CLXXXVIII.

PARIS, *10 October, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 15 September came this moment from Dresden. You have spent your summer much more agreeably than I have mine, and I hope, I think reasonably that some day or other your friends will be the better for it; for I am clear that every American of name who explores unknown scenes, unknown almost in the United States, owes it to the literary character of his nation to give a tour, travels, picturesque views, or statistics, involved in these; and notices, written on the spot, preserve for years after, a force that gives identity and freshness of line to his description. Who knows ought of Silesia but its loan and dispute! I am serious; it would be a pleasing present to us in the United States to have something of that sort from your pen. Mankind entire are sick of political writing, and if I mistake not, however versed I know you to be in the best schools of politics, yet I venture an opinion which I refer to yourself as judge: Your true mental luxury would be best found in such a work. It is a charming species of composition, I mean to the writer while at work. His thread of facts and recollections perpetually corrects, mellows and ennobles his imagination; it is a species of writing therefore more *wholesome* for the mind than works of system, theory, and mere fancy. It is to retravel, with all the learned reflections which leisure affords; and these partake of all the energy of the senses without the bewildering effects of first impressions and of the dancing of the senses upon new objects.

Would that some work would appear in the United States that would give a turn to our national mind, and lead [us] to seek consolation in literary attainments independent of politics! For these form a sort of fanaticism which is destroying even our moral taste, in its several modes, literature, characters, various speculation. As to the fine arts, we are not yet in a state to taste them fully; but my plan we can enjoy. I will add also, that, so much the friend am I of the senses, and of *particular* ideas as opposed to general ones, to *likenesses*, that I love the mezzotinto drawings in Tours;—the mouldering abbey, the old castle, a mountain, and its torrent, and whatever is *like* the place exactly. The drawing of even the *voiture* of the voyager at an inn door makes me his companion, and I enjoy the tour the more.

In the tour which you made you may have picked up old or new prints of various scenes seen by you. All this for such a country as Europe would not be *so* essential to a tour; but for ours it would contribute to rouse a taste, and a desire to do the same *in* our own country, which has had no tourist.

By this time you have received my letters, and known that we have made a Convention—30 September; that we were most handsomely fêted four days after; that my colleagues set off so rapidly

that I had time but to write three letters, and none to send some little trifles to my brother and a bust of Washington by so good a conveyance as the *Portsmouth*. They are now at Havre—wind and tide bound, and Admiral Massaredo, whose fleet has been so long at Brest, says it will be many days before they can get out.

In two days I set out for the Hague where I hope to again enjoy the pleasure of your letters, as I am now once more one and indivisible.

Count Cobenzl will be here in three days. It is believed that Count Lehrbach has wished to prolong the armistice, but if the bases between France and Austria are not settled in twenty-nine days from this, the war, I hear, will again be opened. Most truly always, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

LaFayette is no more talked of for minister to the United States.

12. Mrs. M[urray] took to her bed yesterday with fever—chills and pain in the breast—from a wetting she got at Ermenonville during the fête, the day after rather. Ermenonville is the chateau of Mr. Girardin [1] near Morfontaine. There Rousseau was bury'd I believe. The tomb is there on the isle of poplars, once an isle; but its surrounding waters are no more, and it is now but a brambly swell of ground in a rank meadow During the reign of terror the very villagers of that enchanting spot were furious and bloody against their generous landlord and benefactor, Mr. G[irardin]. Since, he has suffered all to go to decay, and has not lived there. The peasants broke down the embellishments, water works, etc., etc., and the village, which thrived by the concourse of travellers whom the celebrity of the place attracted, has become as wretched and contemptible as its crimes. The spot has become ague and feverish, and the tomb of John Jacques will, in the sickly uproar which will probably surround it, exactly illustrate his levelling doctrines, his poisonous morals. The owner a fine respectable old gentleman of 70!

Joseph Bonaparte goes to Lunéville as negociator. La Forest, Secretary of Embassy.

J. B. has an excellent character. I know him to be mild and amiable, and to possess a correct but not very active mind, with a learning which flows from him imperceptibly to himself, apparently, and with less pretension than I have found here.

La Forest you must have known—the only man I have seen in France who is well acquainted with our affairs. Right in his principles as a Frenchman, and of a very clear and good head.

I just hear that Mr. E[llsworth] has some thoughts of spending the winter in England, as he dreads a winter passage home. He has gravel, and is not well. It will be a great loss, if he do not go on to defend our work! But I must stop. You do not like this miscel-

[1] René-Louis, Marquis de Girardin (1735–1808).

laneous sort of writing, and it [is] almost the only sort which I now like.

I had a dozen profiles struck off to send to the United States to our relations, and Mrs. M[urray] requests Mrs. Adams to accept the inclosed. It is in the costume of the day—a little regulated.[1]

CLXXXIX.

Rec. Nov. 19.
Ans. Nov. 20. THE HAGUE, *7 November, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: Your favour of 30th ulto. came today and gave me a great deal of pleasure, because it announces a return of health and your approbation to the end of our negociation. May that approbation be the forerunner of the contentment of our government and country. Indemnities, it is true sleep (You have seen the whole convention as *published* in the Moniteur! ! !). That they ever should have been made a point so important in this negociation, was, because the wisdom of government commanded it, not because we considered them as of first-rate consequence. They became impossible, and we thought it for the honour of administration and the good of the United States to draw the United States out of the dispute—honourably—and I think that good is accomplished. The march to this point had some gloomy and difficult moments. I have great pleasure in recollecting that I was honoured by the P[resident]'s confidence in this work; but my self pride can not be excited by the success, as most of the great turns which contributed to each part of our progression belonged to Mr. Ellsworth! who had resources, when I own I was staggered. That man has a head of iron—just iron—that works with the precision of a mill, without its quickness and giddy manner. I profoundly admired the neatness and accuracy of his mind. If he had *l'usage du monde*, the French language, and more literature, he would be a giant among the diplomats of Europe. Though I have often doubted if it be in nature to find a man of polished and accomplished and at the same time of great powers—and honest! and by the same token I recollect a long midnight discussion with my excellent friend Dexter, when we were sole inmates in '93–4 at Philadelphia, in which we came to this consolatory conclusion: that men who have neither grace nor beauty *may* have great powers of oratory and general powers of great strength, but that the handsome and accomplished fellows *could* not. Perhaps these mental exertions seem more powerful, like bar iron, because not polished; for surely beauty conveys essentially the associated idea of fragility. But idea—look round and examine that application, if you have not before. One thing too, more, I think is true in speaking of men in relation to France. A man of strong mental, but unpolished powers, who from

[1] Adams to Murray, October 30, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 471.

that trait has a sort of fixed *charactère* in his awkwardness, grave but not sour, regardless of the graces, and not handsome, would do better at Paris, than a polite, soft and amiable man with equal strength of talents—I think. They are a singular people, whose qualities merit much study; and Paris is the only place to observe these in their true natural combination. General D[avie] is a firm, soldierly, and well informed man. We certainly did all in our power, and with one spirit. Believe me, that the 25 September—the night, or two in the morning in which we fixed things for copying and surmounted certain great difficulties—was I do think one of the very happiest nights of my life. Poor Mr. E[llsworth], whose health was very bad, and whose mind and nerves had been much agitated, (we had been all so!) that night got a good sleep. We touched a port—at least were on soundings, after a voyage of fog. Let what would come in Europe—general peace or not—it seemed as if a great option was in our country's power, and an honourable peace, under a state of things in which war might be hazardous. The old onerous treaties laid aside by their consent, and of course the perspective better on that very important head, no existing engagements violated, and the only thing lost, (a promise of indemnity) a stipulation not worth three per cent if made, and not connected with national honour when you recollect the state of things—belligerent between the two nations and the annulling of treaties. No, sir, had they stipulated to pay, their paper would not have been worth that to the *sufferers*, and these or their assignees would not have had twelve per cent of the cases rejudged in their favour under the latitude of principles (*i. e.* treaty up to 8 July, '98—*law of nations*! ! after) which must have been agreed to; such would have been the roguery at Paris under any commission we could have settled, unless, indeed, we could have been sure of the majority. And even in that case there is every reason to believe that by hooke or by crooke they would have cheated the sufferers of the judgments and their fruits. All this was not an equivalent for the revival in *all* their parts of the *two* treaties and the consular convention, the *sine qua non* condition! So we did as you see. What you see, the convention, was soon put together—the result of a long course of demands and omissions. It was all we could do, and we unanimously agreed that it was infinitely [better] to do this than do nothing, because we could not do all—when that all was a doubtful *pecuniary* thing. However, whether that pecuniary object—those never dying indemnities—were important, was not for us so far to determine on as to *give them up*. The idea then of a convention, tying up hostility, and keeping on record a right to claim, was considered as the best—even a good thing—and the nearest to our instructions. As a private man I would prefer the convention as it is, in the present state of our minds in the United States, to a treaty with

a stipulation to pay! even without revival of treaties. Such a stipulation would have all the political influence in favour of France, of a noble and magnanimous justice, but be towards the sufferers illusory, and towards the government a source, very soon, of either new submissions or of resentment. Our notes and our ground which we took perseveringly all along will show that this idea never weakened for one moment the warmth and vigor of our pursuits, though undoubtedly it may be correct to you or even for an American writer who may vindicate the convention to use that argument to weaken the fall of expectation—if the public really expected indemnities, and at the same time freedom from any one or part of old treaties.

Yes, sir, it is among the most soothing of all my reflections, and was so from the instant I saw we should close with them, that we should accomplish under the administration of the author of the measure, a federal and national good that would contribute by the sunshine which I believe it will shed, to indemnify the President in the very best way for the inquietudes which he must have experienced from the day he resolved on the step. From the first I considered it as a measure wise and proper calculated from American and European politics. Defeat would not have altered my opinion, but success was essential in the eyes of a popular government, to answer victoriously to the arguments against it. Deeply shall I always regret that it could not be done sooner, and time enough for its influence to have been auxiliary to him in this election! All was done—all—that could hasten it; in vain. Particularly I was bound to keep that result in view, and the zeal of duty was forever quickened by all the recollections which could affect a man sensible of a high personal confidence, and by a personal affectionate gratitude. It was in vain! However our country has good sense, and on this I still rest my hope that his election will be secured. If it be lost, the regret which will be awakened on the arrival of my colleagues, though too late for that object, will be a most honourable thing on the close of his administration, and a melancholy comment on the character of parties in a free government!

But of yourself, my dear sir, that spitting of blood. I beg you to exercise, to write less and read less, and avoid damp, and clear piercing air. Mrs. A. must have been a good deal alarmed, though I have old friends who have been in that way for twenty years off and on. Mrs. M[urray] is better. We arrived here the 26 ulto., and yesterday got into our *lodgings;* for when I went to Paris I gave up my pretty little house in the Voorhout, and sold my furniture. I did so though I took but a temporary leave, for two reasons: because I wished to have a fair pretence to quit housekeeping, which was too expensive; and because there was a chance that we might break off, *la guerre ouverte* take place, and in that case I could not stay here.

Since my arrival I have enjoy'd a great luxury, ease and some fat. I neither write nor read, for as yet my books are unpacked, and I do not know but it is best to let them sleep as undisturbed as I do. . . .

This unmerciful letter must finish. Whose travels did you ever read that have made the task so arduous! I converse with an enlightened traveller; I am charmed with his remarks. The more distinct and particularized he makes his description of persons, roads, places, manufactures, etc., etc., if these differ from the same sort of objects in general, the more striking and lasting his impressions. His remarks illustrate all and convert all into aliment for my mind, certainly in proportion to his knowledge is his ability to illustrate. Well, my dear sir, if he writes this down he is my enlightened traveller—plan or hypothesis spoil all. He follows the road, not makes it. It is not history. It is presumed that the reader has prepared some knowledge of this. No, I still see not the force of your argument. It belongs to that ideal beautiful theory which overwhelms all enterprise. Ever, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

P.S. 10 November. I just learn from good authority that the courier which came today at ten from Paris announces that Count Cobenzl has parted for Lunéville, but that the game is up and nothing will be done! The E[mperor] will not treat unless Great Britain be let in.

There is still a hope at Paris that P[russia] and R[ussia] will mediate on this point.

As the post goes tomorrow I hope this will reach you to give you the first news of it.

To your kind interest respecting my future grade I am, be sure, sensible as an old friend naturally is; but do not say one word on this point my dear sir. I shall give Sir Robert Barclay a letter of introduction to you, by next post, etc., etc., etc.

The Council of Prizes have try'd one case, the *Ariadne*, under our fourth article, and have restored the ship and cargo. They always begin well.[1]

CXC.

Rec. Dec. 15.
Ans. Dec. 16. THE HAGUE, *18 November, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: I have just received a letter from Mr. King of 7th inst., in which he tells me news that have given more pleasure than any I have heard for a long time; he says "as the convention has been published we all have had an opportunity to consider it, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that this government sees nothing in it, which in its opinion we were not free to stipulate, or that gives to England any ground of complaint. An official assurance to this effect has been given to me, which I have transmitted to our government." I am most heartily rejoiced at this, for I own,

[1] Adams to Murray, November 18, 1800, in Adams MSS.

though I was convinced that no just cause for complaint could be found in it, yet I did apprehend that the prudence of Great Britain might fail her in considering the convention, and that our government might be embarrassed by unreasonable conduct on her part. Of course I do rejoice. Mr. King too, I think, has great merit in having obtained something satisfactory on this head, for though it is enough that a measure be wise, and politic, and just, for our own government to approve it, and that we have not in the taking of a great measure to consult whether any other nation be wise, and honest, and disposed to put a fair construction on our acts, yet in this case, my dear sir, it is a glorious thing for administration to have put an end to hostilities with France, and yet have extorted the satisfaction of Great Britain. As a stroke too I do consider it as a triumph the completest over the "mob of gentlemen" who have chirped so much against it, and filled their eyes with prophetic tears about the certain consequences etc., etc! I hope King's dispatches will get to government immediately.

Mr. Ellsworth is in England. He could not go on. His health was very bad all the spring, and often since—gout floating among gravel! He winters in England—better there than in France, as he does not speak ten words of French. He has, says Mr. K[ing], been presented at Court, and "not only received well but with distinction—a circumstance in confirmation of the assurance that had before been given to me." *To do right and trust the rest to Providence,* is one of the maxims most difficult, and most fearful for politicians; but it is absolute and best! There was great boldness in the measure which ended by a successful negociation; yet events and the force of truth have withdrawn the clouds which certainly threatened even its success! Doubtless too it is the best *policy* for Great Britain. Be assured that she *disappoints* her great rival; of that I am convinced.

Lucien and Fouché have had a terrible quarrel. L. has gone, Minister to Spain. Have you seen a "Parallèle entre Cromwell, Caesar, Monck and Bonaparte"? lately printed and sedulously diffused by post? Its principal object apparently to *ramener les esprits* to the point of a new dynasty in B[onaparte.] It is attributed to Lucien and has made a terrible noise at Paris against *him.* "When the kings of the Carlovingian race became too feeble to hold the monarchy, an extraordinary personage suddenly appeared, and placed himself by his great talents at the head of the French, though unknown in his origin! Who ever knows the past may foresee the future. It is among the Martels, and not the Moncks, that we must find a parallel to Bonaparte." I quote from memory. The pamphlet was denounced and is suppressed. What a circulation that will give it! Truly yours, my dear sir.[1]

[1] Adams to Murray, November 22, 1800, in Adams MSS.

CXCI.

THE HAGUE, *5 December, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 24 November, covering your dispatches came safely, and have been several days in Mr. Bourne's hands. They will go soon. I thank you for the great pleasure of reading them. But if the petulant P[aul?] has Maltha offered to cool his head, will not his heart warm once more towards the donors? Had B[onaparte] last August given him that island, it would have been a blow. I can not, still, think that D[enmark] and S[weden] will be such fools as to join in an armed neutrality; it is to hunt with the lion against a lion. St. Thomas, etc., etc., etc., will not be a breakfast for the B[ritish], and we shall thus suffer. A nephew of General Pinckney writes me from St. Sebastien, that if Pennsylvania do not vote, the President will carry the election by 73 to 58. Should Maryland and Jersey give Mr. J[efferson] seven it would then be 66 to 65. Dear sir, etc., etc.

Several vessels go soon from Rotterdam also. I will send your letters, you know, with great pleasure.

CXCII.

9 DECEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR: My last letter was by the mistake of my servant (who has but lately come to this country) not paid for at the post, and I hear it will not go till today. I did not know it had not gone, till I sent some letters (to Amsterdam) night before last to the post. By papers from the United States up to the 10th June, New York, and to the 4th from Boston of October, it appears that a great alarm existed for South Carolina, in consequence of an insurrection of the blacks; that government had imposed a fine of £15 sterling on each militia man who did not turn out; that there was great backwardness; that the blacks were, some said, 700, others, 6000 strong; that in Virginia they had hanged some of those unhappy people; but I presume the insurrection there had been quelled. Assurances are given (in Russell's paper) that the South will be assisted by the East, if need be. A young South Carlinian who was with me when I had the papers observed, that he had long expected this misfortune, and had often wondered that they had not risen before. Certainly there are motives sufficiently obvious, independent of the contagion of Jacobinism, to account for an insurrection of slaves; but I doubt not that the eternal clamour about liberty in V[irginia] and S[outh] C[arolina] both, has matured the event which has happened. There are good things in most species of adversity. You may not possibly know that a year ago, if not later, a separation from the Union was much talked of by some of the leaders of the opposition in Virginia; and their arsenal, replenished from Europe. Their rigid collection of extra taxes gave reason for fear that they had some plan on foot.

These ideas I had last spring from a man who made it his business to know in passing through Virginia, and who talked with several leaders of the fed[eral] party.

I heard privately last night that Bonaparte has failed in a proposition which he made to the Tribunat. He gave his initiative for the removal of *all the archives* from their respective depots into the immediate care of government. This *projet* of a law was negatived by the Tribunat, and carry'd by them to be argued before the Corps Législative. After a secret scrutiny (by black and white balls) there were 220 against, and 60 for B's projet. This is important as a development of legislative against executive force in the working of the Constitution, and savours of that Tribunitian spirit which will overthrow him, if he do not overthrow the Tribunat—which I hope he will do for the good of France.

While I write I receive a letter from Bourne with bad news. Letters to 20 October say that Pennsylvania has made a *regular* election (which I think impossible) of electors, and that they are all for Mr. Jefferson! Their votes will probably be disputed in Congress. I had not heard that her legislature had enacted a law on this subject.

Dear sir, I am always most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.[1]

CXCIII.

Rec. Dec. 28.
Ans. Jan. 3. 22 December, 1800.

Dear Sir: Yours is one of those reasoning metaphors that put up the "spirit of a tun of detail and argumentation into a thumb bottle." We had try'd to beat off, wind and tide and coast against us. Every tack we try'd from April to 11 September, the wind veered and came in our teeth, though the look of the clouds and the set of the mare's tails, had constantly the day before we tacked, promised that the wind would vary where it then was, and at least give us a quarter breeze; but it chopped round always right ahead, as our log book which is sent to the owners will show; and I believe they will see that we did try every E. point of the compass to reach the market we were ordered to do. But who can fix the winds? Some day your honour may see our log book, for our owners let all the world into the secrets of their voyages, and then you will say you never saw such shifty, *fluttery* weather; but never a very rough sea. The oldest seamen on board often damned his eyes, though he never was known to swear much before; and all the others were uneasy at that, because we knew that there was not a more knowing old buck belonging to the employ, and if he with all his cunning did not know what course to steer, the devil himself would not have known how to get round the winds—and every one knows that he

[1] Adams to Murray, December 16, 1800, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 486*n*; December 20, in Adams MSS.

has a great deal to do with them. Often he thought and used to say that he had nailed the dog jack[1] at last, and we would go at the rate of ten knots for perhaps a day, when smack—right ahead again—and a fog so thick you could not put a handspike into it. The old tar had a way on such occasions of muttering to himself; some of the crew thought he dealt with the devil; for sure enough, always after he had been talking for two or three days to himself over his charts and with his quadrant in his hand, he always brought out some deep proposal for shifting the course. It is true for a good while we had not used our charts and quadrant much. The fog was so thick that after some months regular work we went entirely by the lead, and kept that and the helm and sails always in motion, finding if we could but save ourselves from a long reef of rocks where we had thumped for some time in a *former voyage*, A and which our owners gave particular orders to avoid, though there is a very pretty port in it,—and at last got into a neighbouring harbour. We should do well enough as the ship would be safe, though there would be little money from the voyage. The weather cleared as soon as we stood for that harbour, and the wind was fair enough for rough weather, and we did not mind a little baffling, so we got ahead, but were near sticking on the bar *B* above the harbour. However, after a little thumping, as the bottom was live oak, we did not mind it, and got over it only by shifting a little ballast, without losing a spar or throwing over so much as a pebble *C*. After that task, which was 11 September, at 2 P. M., we began to pick up and save some wrecks and bale goods, which other vessels belonging to our house had suffered and lost on that coast, and which luckily had not yet drifted ashore. D. So if the owners please, they can renew the voyage, if they will run the risk of getting money at the certain expense and loss of going on the reef.

A. alliances etc. etc., etc. B. admission of their privateers to equality. C. We have not sacrificed any of the rights of Great Britain. D. *Vid.* 4 article. E. To renew if they would pay; they would not unless *both were renewed*—thence, well renew all—but you will accept eight or ten million livres *out of the indemnities which you will pay*, as a consideration of *abandoning all, i. e.* abandoning 17 article, and alliance. Confidentially, *Yes.* Confidentially, *No.* Then we will agree to a specific alliance of aid—so much to be paid. Yes, No, because then indemnities would follow, and we tell you frankly that we know you consider the revival of the alliance as extremely onerous. We wish to settle the dispute without paying indemnities. We are sure you will not like to revive the alliance, yet that is the price we ask for indemnities. This was frankly their language the 11th September. I own I like it, as it is without

[1] "Explain for country gentlemen"—dog jack, the little weather flag. *Note by Murray.*

indemnities. They *could not have paid*, they would not have paid, and we had quarrelled again in five years, and they would have created a new negociable stock of something like money influence in the United States in the meantime, as the paymasters of an unliquidated set of promises to the sufferers!

I should not have given you the above sort of Egyptian dark voyage had I not remembered that you once drew a good illustration, either in conversation or in a letter to me, from the immortal Pilgrim's Progress, and of course can have no dislike to an humble imitation of Bunyan. Mr. Davie must be there by this time with the convention. I am, as you may suppose, extremely anxious to hear definitively. Should the papers which passed in the negociation be published, you will find that we made every motion, and that we pulled them along the whole way. Our journal which we made out before we parted would explain much which could not be in the notes which passed; that will be laid before the President. It was not quite copy'd off when we parted. My secretary being on a *congé* at Brussels, and our time being too much engaged the last twenty-three days, he had to finish his part on board the *Portsmouth* on his passage—for he went with our friends. By the bye, I have no secretary in the fixed way—a young Dutchman doing any copying for me that ought to be seen; and I will have none, at least yet, for I suppose I shall have a voyage home, if Jefferson be in. That we shall know in four months. As to you, Humphreys, and King—you were not in the way at the last contest in 1796, and of course not known to him in a way fretful to his recollection; but *entre nous* Smith and I must be so known, and it happens singularly that Von Polanen has returned here—of course, no Dutch Minister there, though there has been one always before. And I believe also, de Freire has returned to Portugal—at least Madame is at Lisbon. So I keep upon my oars, as I suppose Smith does. He writes me pleasantly that *when he is dismissed* he will visit Paris. He too is delighted with our arrangement—what he had heard of it; and Humphreys is astonished at the change of temper which he supposes must have preceded an arrangement with us, and seems rejoiced particularly at the maritime rules respecting neutrality laid down in the convention; telling me at the same time he had lately illustrated the same principles in an essay addressed to the United States and now published in Spanish, to the great pleasure of the Minister of State at Madrid. Now it happens that for myself, if I had had 1000 guineas as oil money put into my hand to obtain them, I would not have given that sum for all such provisions! and they cost us not one sou, and not one effort. The policy of the moment will always give or take away. What would be given or refused, without stipulation. A certain conviction that injury will be followed by a prompt and spirited and efficacious resentment is the Law and the

Prophets on neutral respectability; as we shall probably see to our glory, if Great Britain and the silly maritime metaphysicians go to war. Each side will respect us I rather believe, as our junction would be of great importance on either side. The marine philosophers would respect us *without stipulation*, and call it their principles—and doctrine the bully would respect us, without the wordy farrago, because we should be important in so peculiar a contest; *if we go on with our frigates and ships of the line!*—not else; and without these we can not claim respect, in a practical way, and as men of this world! God bless us, we are I think in a fine and healthy way. Yet I do confess I have often the deepest gloom in calculating the effects of that radical scorbutic Jacobinism which seems to pervade our nation, and breathe in most of our presses; and I am not among those *bons hommes* who believe that the press for the press, more than I do that a dram in the morning is a cure for the drunken headache of the preceding night.

I can now, times and place considered, say to you that I have looked from the first to your father's administration and to his re-election for the gradual cure of this spirit. The time and the events, all favoured his doctrines which he always in the dark times spoke and wrote boldly, with a boldness which made him lukewarm friends among some who were as we all were in '91–'92–3–4, political cowards! Events authorised his principles and predictions; their boldness which had been thought rashness became at last manly wisdom; thus the public nerve got gradually braced to the true concert pitch, and could bear truth and experience, and, but for this division in the federal men whose union had else ensured his re-election, the public mind would have been reformed, government well knit in its joints, and a firm and real governmental tone would have been the consequence of one more four years of a well sustained administration under him. I write now with freedom to his son, because his delicacy can not be alarmed for his friend, considering the great probability that the President will not be re-elected! Dear sir, truly yours always, etc., etc.

P. S. Your former dispatches went to Amsterdam, with some of mine, were returned to me, as too late. Went to Rotterdam and sailed about 15 days since for Baltimore. Whatever you send will, you know, be punctually attended to. Your last dispatch was a trifle indulgent to me, for which I am very grateful. Your favour of 16 came this morning and I determined to be exact for the post. Moreau seems a little checked. Is there any idea of Russia attacking the Turks?

I beg you to excuse the eternal blotting through which your indulgence carries you in decyphering my letters often. They are not second thoughts, so much as original incorrectness.

2 P. S. 22 December, 1800. We differ in the parallel. I do not think it written by an enemy of B[onaparte], but by some one initiated in the plans of those nearest the throne, for the purpose of sounding the public feelings and familiarising them to expect a something like a new dynasty established on the expulsion of the Bourbons. I had a conversation with one of these men in May. Much of it I find in this pamphlet. At first I thought my colloquist the author, but I learned that Lucien was. Much of the plan there talked of was intended to have been incorporated in the system of elections then working up. You have seen part of it in the talk about the *notabiliaires*—a term untenable fifteen months since; but things were not ripe for its development. Three species of noblesse or merit was the idea and a consul, call it what you please, on the top of the pyramid—pyramid, because for ten years past the government, *i. e.*, the executive, was in a line *too perpendicular with the people.* If B[onaparte] live—I hope he will—you will see something of this, and the Senate turned into qualifications of 25,000 livres landed income instead of receiving that from government.

One of these pamphlets was sent to me under a blank envelope. I threw the envelope into the fire before I examined the seal and handwriting, supposing it a case before the Council of Prizes. My pamphlet in passing through so many hands is lost. Men and women read it. I sent to Paris for another. My correspondent copy'd it and sent it to me (it was *suppressed*). I send it to you inclosed and request you to present it to the President, as it may amuse him. No, I consider it as an untimely declaration by some friend. It was suppressed because it was officiously sent to every public man in France, and among these were thousands not in that way of thinking. Being once denounced they were obliged to give an official *imprimatur*, or censure. They were not ready for the first. I do not agree with the author exactly. This age is not for a ready manufacture of monarchies, but of usurpations under a different name, I believe it is. B[onaparte] has leaped into a fauteuil not a throne, and there he will sit as long as he can review the guards, and mount a horse. By the bye, when he was away, the second Consul I learned, review'd the guards of the palace—a learned advocat. A great many jokes passed about at the idea, though Cambacérès is a respectable character and man of great talents. So it is, and will be in France. The attorneys, men of letters, good writers, great speakers, were beginning to take that rank at Paris which is their natural place there, *i. e., les bons hommes!* but as to *great* and influential—no such thing. They would in one year of peace trot again on the *pavé* with their inkhorns in a button hole; and the great world there, and the people, recognise them as in their sphere very useful men in society, good sort of people; and the *Institut* would

be considered (politically) as was the Academy—admitted into the best circles as very learned physicians are now. The last Mayor of Paris you know, who died the other day, was a ci-devant Duke—a descendant of Sully. So the tide would be, if peace were once more to bless that strange people. You would see thousands of the late nobles, in all the first places, and France would in a very few years return to herself if not with the same master. But I have long since tired you. Again, dear sir, etc., etc.

CXCIV.

Rec. Jan. 4.
Ans. Jan. 10. THE HAGUE, *26 December, 1800.*

DEAR SIR: Today I received your favor of the 20th with the letter to your brother and the Secretary of State. I am truly grateful for the perusal you indulge me with. They will go to Rotterdam, where I learn vessels will soon go. When you wrote we were frozen up; but for three days past the thaw has opened the waters. I am harrassed by the insubordination of captains to consuls, and fear that to force a captain *to appear before the consul* at Rotterdam, I shall be obliged to stop his ship if she attempt to go out! The case, a sick seaman who says he was discharged—and in this case the law '91–'92 gives him his wages and return money. The combination of mercantile jealousy and broker policy against our consuls, too, helps to keep up this insubordinate spirit.

Yes, the French do push on! But if the Emperor be as much of a man as his brother Charles, he will make every foot advanced a dear territory to Moreau. His means are immense; his court, it is true, is timid; but morally and physically every step the French advance in an enemy's country, perhaps as warlike as their own, they increase their danger. They may get to Vienna, but the map is not all, though the usual seat of government is much. Certainly, Bohemia and Hungary are great enough to give them a sad dance, if the Emperor have a spark of Old Frederick of Prussia. I did not know he had gone to Hungary before I read your dispatch.

That is a strange thing of Russia. Her gazette says as much as that the treaty of 30 December, '98, ensured Malta. As to this coalition, I lament it. I mean, armed neutrality. It will prolong the war, be defeated, and render the British relatively more powerful at sea. For depend on it the British *nation* ever will unite with government on such a question. They will nail the flag to the mast and sink or swim with it—as Sheridan has invoked lately in Parliament. The war will be *popular*.

Letters at Amsterdam say that on the 8th, or of the 8th of November, they knew of the convention with France at Baltimore. I therefore still hope that sound men may follow their principles in

their chief, and yet save the nation from the usual shame of republican gratitude and fickleness.

I wrote you a long log-book history of the negociation by last post—sadly blotted—and sent you the *Parallel.*

Inclosed is a cutting which I this moment receive from Amsterdam. Truly yours, dear sir, etc., etc.

As I have three or four of my precious profiles remaining it would be more absurd not to send you one, since I obliged you to request one! than to send it. I had a few struck for my brother and sisters, and they are not known here I assure you. They do these things at Paris for a mere nothing, and give you the plate and drawing and a dozen for a louis! So *son excellence* was cheap. Davie had his also—but he is a very fine looking man.

CXCV.

Rec. Jan. 8.

Ans. Jan. 10. 30 DECEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I have just had a few papers of Boston sent to me by a friend of Amsterdam, as late as 18 ulto. The disgusting scurrility and low license of the *Chronicle* is as usual. I send you a cutting by which you will see the lengths which the Jacobin opponents of the President go in bringing the basest treachery in aid of Mr. J[efferson]'s election, viz. a letter—a *private* one—from Mr. Adams in 1792 to *Tenny* Coxe, respecting Mr. T. Pinckney.[1] The public mind can not be in a healthy state that does not consign such unlawful hostility to infamy, but so it is. The press will ruin our national character. With us there is no decency of the press: every youth is a scribbler, any man who has gall enough to write, and a press near, constitutes himself public censor, and dashes away. Calumny and mean suspicion are gradually losing their meaning whenever they appear in types! for they belong to the *liberty of the press!* And then every anarchist says the press cures the errors of the press, which I am not *bonhomme* enough to believe, more than I do the drunkard's maxim, that a dram in the morning is the best thing for a drunken headache of the preceding night.

Alas too—public men of elevated minds become infected with this mania of character inquisition. Hamilton, whom I have always respected among the most illustrious men of our nation, he has come out, I hear in a pamphlet against the President![2] We must soon search for common sense exclusively among the old women of our nation.

But the post will not let me indulge my bile longer. Truly always, dear sir, etc., etc.[3]

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[1] Printed in Gibbs, "Administrations of Washington and Adams," II, 424.

[2] "Letter concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams," 1800.

[3] Adams to Murray, January 3, 1801, in Adams MSS.

CXCVI.

Rec. Jan. 12.
Ans. Jan. 13.

3 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: My letters from Paris of 28 *ulto. seculo* say, that I may be assured that the Arch Duke Charles has requested an armistice in order to adjust the preliminaries of peace. And a copy of a letter from Mr. Lucchesini [1] of 29 December, speaks thus "le bruit généralement repandu ici (Paris) que les succés rapides des armées françaises en Allemagne ont engagé le Prince qui commande celles de l'Empire a demander une nouvelle suspension d'hostilités au General Moreau; que celui-cy insistant sur la signature des préliminaires de paix, s'y est refusé, mais donné cependant au Prince la permission de transmettre a Paris les propositions de sa cour.

"Le Gouvernement français n'ayant pas jugé à propos de rien annonces de tout ceci, les ministres étrangers ne peuvent en avoir encore des notions positives, et ils restent dans l'attente de voir si l'Autriche se déterminera à prolonguer sa resistance, ou si elle aura le courage de se résigner à son sort; et dans ce cas, si la Républic conservera du moins pour l'Allemagne les principes de modération que depuis quelque tems semblent servir de base de sa politique"

(This extract, of course, *entre nous*). This news seems so natural that I suppose it true, and thus far the game seems up! I doubt if the French will revolutionise Vienna, if they go. I believe that B[onaparte] would not wish to see the republics increase, and that he wishes to be on good terms with the *Emperor;* that his pride is more embarked in this than in most other of his exterior relations and views; and that he would feel lowered, if there were no Emperors, Kings, etc., etc.

Pichon goes as consul general and chargé d'affaires to the United States. He had just marry'd I learn. I can tell you that his explanations on the publications verify'd by him satisfy'd me of his innocence. He was ordered, after his return to verify the pieces which Talleyrand sent him, that they might be laid before the Directory, who afterwards, he found, sent them to an American (he told me "a *damned Jacobin*"), to be delivered to the President; and this American, he says, sent them to Jacobins in Virginia. I saw he was sorry for their publication, and his explanations were verbally made through another on his arrival at Paris, whom he sent to see if I would receive him. I received him very coldly, and he gave me the above information. I had in the mean time heard he would be appointed secretary to the French negociators. In a few days he wrote me a note informing me that he was named as such, but would decline if I did not like the appointment! This was to draw a line from me—for I had never answered his explanatory letter in answer to

[1] Jérôme Lucchesini (1752–1825).

my first. My note was that on the contrary I wished him to accept. He was extremely important to his negociators during their labours, and contributed, I think, and so I believe does Mr. E[llsworth], to the smoothing away of difficulties. In fact he behaved the last two months in the best and most useful way. I then resolved, to withhold the letters which had passed between us, and which I promised Col. Pickering; but going to Paris soon after on the negociation, I thought it best not to stir up more dirt unless we failed. P[ichon] in the mean time wished me to publish them *for his vindication* he said. I have sent him a letter of introduction to Mr. Dexter, as he lately wrote to me dated 24 Frimaire.

The Boston Gazettes of 20 November, or a few days before, say Doctor Eustis [1] succeeds your eloquent friend Otis!![2] and that the Senate of Pennsylvania has rejected the bill for the naming of electors. I still hope, then, that the President may be re-elected.

A happy new century to you and Mrs. Adams. There is something oppressive in a new century. It is a great center point to which we know we never shall come again.

How goes on your *Oberon*?[3] You see murder will out, and if you deal with the fairies, I too have a fay—a newsy fay. Dear sir, always yours.

Tenny Coxe gets a basting in the Gazette the 20th November. Nothing this nor last post from you.

CXCVII.

6 January, 1801.

Though I am sure you will have had the news of the very important armistice before this arrives I can but tell you of it. It took place the 4 Nivôse 25 December. The Tyrol is given into the possession of the French; Würtzburg and two fortresses, one in Bavaria and the other in the Tyrol, given up also; and it is said the army of insurrection licenciè; the Emperor in fact ty'd hand and foot and to sign a treaty in the armistice of 30 days! *C'est fini!* The French government received this news the 1 inst., and immediately orders were given to the armies *generally* to suspend hostilities. This may save Belgrade's army in Italy as the Arch Duke's act did not affect him.

So much for a new century's nosegay for Berlin! Whether it will smell sweet in a year may be doubted, for her! I swear one has little to do but to write marvellous things during these times. These Romans were within twenty leagues (French) of Vienna—nearer than Leoben. The day before the armistice Richepanse[4] entered Steyn from which the Austrians retreated but left him 4000 prisoners and a prodigious quantity of stores!

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[1] William Eustis (1753–1825).

[2] Harrison Gray Otis (1765–1848).

[3] Adams made a translation of Wieland's poem, which he never published.

[4] Antoine Richepanse (1770–1802).

The first news came last night by Mr. de Sparre, aid of Augerdeau and son-in-law to our worthy French Minister here, Mr. de Sémonville, in five days from Neurenburg, A's new headquarters. The line of demarcation is ten leagues French on this side Vienna!! "within the whiff of the fell sword."

I wrote today by Rotterdam to government as good an account as I could gather from the then best accounts, as it is important they should know it as soon as possible; not direct to the United States—no vessel goes yet—but by London, and tomorrow will send duplicate by Hamburg through England. Had I a right I would send a pacquet boat, as I consider the Peace between Austria and France as now certain. A Paris paper says, Mr. *Cobentzl* has orders "to sign the Peace."

My dear sir, I do not believe that Bonaparte wishes to *revolutionise*. It is his interest and that of his party to discountenance now all principles which teach an irregular way to power—and such *are* discouraged at Paris. And I believe he wishes better to the gallant Austrian army and to a court which has display'd a fixed *character*, than to some others. Moreau could have gone certainly to Vienna, could have erected a drum head republic there, at Stuttgard and at Munich; but nothing of that sort is done. As a military power France is indeed formidable; politically as to theories and revolutions she has ceased to be so for a year. Dear sir, I am always yours, etc., etc.[1]

CXCVIII.

11 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 3 with the letter for your brother came this moment; it will go in a ship for Charleston inclosed to the Secretary of State in the vessel now ready at Rotterdam. Several vessels have lately arrived, but, thank God, I have not a line! except from the good Mr. Jeremiah Condy, about the 20,000 guilders which was obtained on account of the capture, etc., etc., of the *W[ilmington] Packet* of troublesome memory. He writes, I think, by every keel, and for the unattainable end of getting me to settle the dividend to which he may be entitled; but the 20,000 guilders were lodged with our bankers, subject to the orders of government, and I tell Condy I am done with the business. The *cargo* (or a great part I am certain) belonged to Lorando of Bourdeaux—French property—and the vessel *was* bound to St. Domingo, though we thought otherwise. L[orando] claimed his dividend of me instantly as the cash was obtained. I rejected his claim (supported by authentic vouchers to prove his property!!)

From what I believed of *Bona's* intention (*we* by starting half his name helped his destinies) I thought he did not wish neither to over-

[1] Adams to Murray, January 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

turn the Emperor nor revolutionise his states. Of course he would have done nearly both, perhaps completely both, had his armies pressed on to Vienna. No, I believe he wishes to be on the best terms with the Emperor of Germany; there is policy and true pride in this.

Yes, our countrymen would have looked very wise at each other and peeped into their pamphlets had this great event found our government without a negociation *finished* or *on foot* in Europe! In all my private letters, as to Dexter and others while at Paris, that was the idea I urged, for as to *public* letters we wrote I think but three *inclosures*, and as the youngest of three I could not write *public* ones, though I wished it had been proper.

I have written, I think every post of late—a few lines.

On the policy announced in B[onaparte]'s message I do say I see great moderation, and the Emperor and he will be on good terms, at least for a few years. Cisalpine I consider as negociable funds for the *poor* king of S[pain] or to fill some other projet; but not to stand as a state (republic).

We shall soon know if England will treat. God send it. I had great anxieties on our account that she should! Dear sir, etc., etc.[1]

CXCIX.

Rec. Jan. 26.
Ans. Jan. 27. 20 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Last post I had the pleasure of yours of 10th inst. but too late to answer. Your letter for your brother went yesterday by a Mr. Roberts of Boston, inclosed in my dispatch with a French executed copy of the Convention of 30 September, which I thought best to send in case of accidents to the *Portsmouth* and Mr. Davie, who carry'd two copies, one in each language. This was the first personal opportunity I have had. Young R[oberts] (he is of the house of Parsons—and never was permitted to learn French, because Mr. P[arsons] would not that any of his house should do it; *le bon homme!*—) left Boston 10 November. He says the general idea was of success to the re-election! The papers generally hold up the same hope. Fair speed the great event! I have read H[amilton]'s pamphlet. I can readily feel what I can not rationally explain, that you would feel an inquietude upon such points. To tell you the truth I began to read it with the apprehension of finding something, some argument drawn from the domestic state of the United States against the mission—for I had heard it was against it—stronger than I had been able to conjure up; because I knew that H[amilton] was the war horse and the strongest man certainly of those who were adverse to that great measure. But, my dear sir, I was infinitely consoled in the perusal; there is nothing in it drawn from the relations of the

[1] Adams to Murray, January 13, 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

United States with other powers, nor from the present, or their frightful state of the world's affairs—very common place dicta of what was proper, without any thing like force of argument or even ingenuity: and as a popular thing it carry'd its antidote in what I am sure is repugnant to the untutored feelings of *men*, for it makes a use of T. Coxe's infamous treachery that I am sure must have revolted our best men and even those who may have been *en bonne foi* against your father! I read it with sorrow! for I have always esteemed and vaunted Hamilton!

Yes, I agree with you, and lately I said to government that the French are not erecting their drum head republics at Münich, Saltzbergh and Vienna, which they could have reached, had they pleased, proved the change in the maxims of the present government. I am sure that had the villain Directory governed these critical moments, we should have had a Bavarian, a Suabian and an Austrian government *provisoire!* I never supposed that B[onaparte] wished to *overturn* Austria; on the contrary I think he wished to be well with that family in the hand and glove way. By the bye, the separate peace will be with the Emperor and Empire, and the Emperor will not probably have a foot in Italy!

I think still, though I agree you are strong behind the Sybillic leaves, that the MEANS of Francis were equal to a glorious and triumphant defeat of the French, supposing he was master of a *military* court; but it is a dovecote of women, fluttering at the sound of danger.

No, my dear sir, if the A[rmed ?] neutrality comes to active operations *i. e.* war, Great Britain will be relatively to colonies, adverse navies and these luckless powers coalised against her united centre, what France has been relatively to the coalition. Enter on this poor continent her manufactures will, in spite of law. She can also substitute R[ussia] and S[weden] by the productions of Kennebec in some province of Maine, for General Knox alone could give her ship timber and masts and by the tar of North Carolina, and in 18 months by its hemp also, if once a certain ready money market be opened for 1,000,000 of it from North and South Carolina and Kentucky. Should this miserable neutrality last three years, we may be great gainers, and a fundamental benefit may be established in our agriculture; and as to iron, *we* can, though not as cheaply, furnish Messrs. the English. Yet, though I think I foresee great pecuniary advantage to all, I confess I ardently have sighed for a general peace. We have some strong reasons to avoid ticklish constructions of engagements which could not be otherwise worded. Hence my abhorrence of this A[rmed] neutrality; for, from what I *saw* and knew at Paris, I am pretty sure that the *talk* even of this measure raised those pretensions which ended as we have seen, *i. e.* insisting on a separate peace, marine armistice, etc., etc.; and I do consider P[russia] in a great

measure the cause of all; for without free support and countenance R[ussia] would not have pulled by the hair Sweden and Denmark into such a scrape. After all, P[russia] has no more influence at Paris, I think, and so thought ever since last summer, than Denmark has!

But I have written you a very long letter and ought to end it. Let me thank you for the honourable and flattering reception which you gave to my representative. Except to my brother and Dexter (to whom I wrote the 16th) I have sent not one to the United States. Dexter is a man of a warm affectionate heart, and whom I esteem highly and also admire, and an old Congress chum. We differed at first, but we pulled [together] in two months. I have long thought that much [of our common] prosperity and stability would depend on the friendships of the extremities and different parts. I still think so. I do not think that I am very mechanical and systematic in such things, but it has so happened that some of my most valuable personal friends are northern men. This is a great consolation to me. Our friendship commenced at a time when the heart warms sympathetically, though I was older than you. All I beg is that you will remember that I first met you at the house of Mrs. Adams's father,[1] and that you will hold me in your friendship as long as you love your wife. By the same token I met at Paris and gave a dinner to a Mr. Appleton, really because I remembered to have met him at Osgood's Hotel with your family. He was then a slim fellow, and is now a sleek—round man with a wig, settled at Calais, but a true Boston man. Excuse this terrible letter. Yours, my dear sir, most affectionately.

P. S. Just as I am on the point of sealing my letter your favour of 13th inst. is handed to me. I believe or rather foresee the same advantages on the side of Great Britain against a marine coalition that France had against the land coalition. She will beat them if they come to blows. And as to calculating the resources of a great nation I am done with it as much as Sir F. D'Ivernois *ought to be* with his algebra against French resources. I agree one can not see far into the future, and not at all with certainty of detail; but my prophecy is that Great Britain will beat the armadas of the coalition, and (always supposing war to really take place in union with France against Great Britain) that Russia will probably strike the long prepared blow against Turkey. The French keeping Egypt. I see no other object that R[ussia] can have to act as she has acted. Luckily for prophecies the post *must* be consulted, else I had brushed up my muse and given you "dash for dash" with Baize. Since, you have entered the Fairyland of Oberon your figures increase. Dear sir, affectly. yours, etc., etc.[2]

[1] Joshua Johnson.

[2] Adams to Murray, January 24, 1801, in Adams MSS.

CC.

Rec. Feb. 2.
Ans. Feb. 3. 24 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 17th inclosed a great treat to me for which I am truly sensible. On such terms I forgive a shut envelope. It was at breakfast, and I had to resist a smart tiff while reading till my wife knew they were from you. As she has often greatly enjoy'd your letters to me, my wafer still-stand was soon effected, and peace restored. That is a precious anecdote of the imperial petulant Paul. The challenge I read in Luzac's paper. It was a perfect mystery to me and needed in all respects the explanation which you have explored, to be at all intelligible. My dear sir, he is the right sort of head for such a nation, whom I consider as absolutely barbarians, except in and just round the best of their cities, where the warmth of cultivation, or imitation rather, has improved the mental atmosphere. It is said that you may make something like a burning glass of a lens of even good neat ice! Indeed on the point of relative civilization I doubt if, Holland excepted, there be any nation in Europe as civilized as our country. An academician would demand a list of authors and *learned* men; these we have not; but I think we have a more diffused result of these, as we have no manufactures but abound in easy plenty, and in these—we have not as many blazing lamps—but we have more general light, a mild but clear morning dawn opposed to beautiful fireworks or splendid illuminations. Yet it is certain that these Russians are as their ancestors were powerful in attack, and may bring their barbarism into a compromise with the Turkish politeness. As yet they appear however to me to be fit for nothing but soldiers.

The Danes and the Swedes are on the flutter since the news came that on the 15th inst. an embargo was laid in England on all Swedish, Danish, and Russian vessels. Those of P[russia] are not mentioned—a whale I believe does not wallow after shrimps. It however would corroborate a hope that P[russia] is not fully embarked in their pursuit of this delusive aurora borealis, and that she may thus hold open a door for mediation. As to Hanover, I doubt if France would let her so greatly aggrandise herself. It would seem to me to be the interest of France that the King of England have Hanover, as he is thus brought more in contact and could be touched more tenderly than if England be perfectly insulated. Besides if P[russia] have that and the other portions of his territory, by becoming more commercial, without being susceptible of being a strong maritime state, she will be more in contact with England and more easily influenced by her.

There is great reason to hope for the re-election of the President. The Mr. Robinson mentioned in the Leyden paper of *yesterday*, as being an elector in my county, is my brother-in-law, an excellent

fellow and true, to whom I wrote repeatedly long since on this point, knowing his principles and sense of your father's long and great services and administration. His name is *Robertson*. I think he is elected. I know he is popular in his county and in Caroline. I have not heard in any other way than by L[uzac]'s gazette. L[uzac] seizes every occasion which he has of doing justice to the President and honour to his administration.

D'Araujo goes to England and to Lisbonne; I dined in a very select party which was made for him at Mr. Sémonville's. He is a very clever man.

Nothing from Lunéville. Today the armistice may end, and next week we must have the illuminations of peace or the renewal of war in Germany—of Peace surely! The Würtemburg plenipotentiary went to Paris last week.

I am getting into a way of buying optical machinery—*microscope solaire*, etc., etc. Dear sir, I am always most truly yours, etc., etc.

Your letter will go in a day or two.

P. S. 27 January. It went night before last to Mr. Bourne, and will go I believe in a day or two.

The inclosed was too late for the post! I have unpleasant news by three New York papers to 6 December in hearing of a *loss in your family* that will affect you, my dear sir. I remember to have seen his picture in England, and your brother after in Philadelphia. I mean your brother Charles. The paper says he is no more! You will bear up against the loss like a man, though you will feel like a [ ]. I know of no consolation in such cases that can be derived from our reason as well as from the same sort of our affections. Augment your affection for the living for which the heart is prepared by the sympathy in the sorrows we know they feel at home.

Every letter and newspaper declares the certainty of the President's re-election, *i. e.* calculations certainly from good data. A French paper which I saw last night at Mr. de Sémonville's says the Convention is ratify'd by the President. The papers of the 6 December mention a large frigate in sight which is *hoped* to be the *Portsmouth*. I see nothing but pleasure at the prospect of her return with the envoys and the convention.

I inclose some cuttings.

Prussia seems reserved on the newly armed neutrality. From all I can judge I think France and Russia will *force* her to go all lengths—as so France will oblige Naples and Portugal!

On the arrival of a Russian officer at Paris the other day, and an interview with Bonaparte at his country seat, Malmaison, you see an *arrêté* which was immediately dispatched to the seaports to forbid the capture of Russian vessels, and on the contrary to protect them! Dear sir, affectionately yours always.[1]

[1] Adams to Murray, January 27, February 3, 1801, in Adams MSS.

CCI.

Rec. Feb. 10.
Ans. Feb. 10.

3 February, 1801.

Dear Sir: Your kind letter of the 27 has this moment come. My youth, or younger days rather, becomes a little less frivolous in my eyes than I often gloomily consider it, when it can afford an instance so flattering to me as indeed is your recollection of our first meeting, with circumstances so detailed as to make me proud a little of my precious self at a period at which I look back, not with shame but sorrow, as almost waste time. Not but what London did me good; but it was a sort of fever life. For I had no steady friend to repress my eccentricities and balance me. Learned cogitations, Xtian and Mahometan Paradise! Yes, I remember that day at Mr. Vaughan's which your friendly pen has recalled from the vasty deep, and the old Witherspoon, Bingham the gay, who had just written a pamphlet against Lord Sheffield's book[1]—and who by the same token I remember said there was not a *truism* in it, (the first time I had even heard the word)—but above all that man of active charity and most laborious pen and of volumes unread, Mr. Granville Sharpe,[2] and the mild and amiable Doctor Price,[3] you and I at Mr. Vaughan's,[4] Dunster Court, Mincing Lane! What a queer chain is memory! Poor Mr. Sharpe! He started something that led him to send me I think twelve or fifteen vols: from his own indefatigable pen! Religion, law, everything that Hebrew roots or feudal blossoms could turn into fruit. But my recollection still is that it was at tea at Mr. Johnson's I first saw you, and that a Mr. Weems,[5] afterwards touched by the Bishop of London for a clergyman, an amiable young man, went with me. Dear me, one exists but in the past and future, but we must *think* of the present though we prize what is past only, and because the now will soon be the past. So I inform you that Admiral Bruix who came eight days since, comes for two objects: 1. to plan co-operation, and 2ly to obtain the means. He would play a first fiddle with de Winter, but I understand would borrow Dutch rosin for his bow—money in fact for the navy of France. It seems that they count upon fifty-five of the line in three months—independent of the north. Fifteen they will have here, seven are now quite ready, twenty-one of France, and fourteen of Spain, those at Brest—of which fourteen only are good for service. This will not succeed. Constantinople may—that is the object which must account for much of Paul's apparent fickleness, his zig zags have been towards that point, his disappointments are on that. We may live to see great changes too

[1] "Letter from an American, on the restraining Proclamation; and strictures on Lord Sheffield's 'Commerce of the American States'" (1784).
[2] (1735–1813.)
[3] Richard Price (1723–1791).
[4] Benjamin Vaughan (1751–1835).
[5] Mason Locke Weems (1760?–1825).

on our side of the water if this war continue and Great Britain be shut out positively from the continent—viz. in South America, where she can find some indemnities, by pushing her merchandizes there! She can sell as much there as in the United States, and both markets are *growing*, which is not the case with her European markets. Besides, my dear sir, they can not exclude her merchandize, and would not if they could, from the continent. Her navigation will suffer more than her workshops. From all I can collect their plan for the Spring is to get their fifty-five ships and transports ready on different points, and have 40,000 men at one and 20 at another, and then offer peace on terms of liberty of the sea, etc., etc. These will be I presume rejected, and then indeed we may see an attempt to land in England.

You have seen the armistice in Italy, and that at Lunéville they have agreed to include the surrender of Mantua with the four places already ceded by Belgarde to Brune.

Here, I understand many declare that the United States ought to join the armed neutrality. To me they are silent on this point, perhaps because I have very openly declared my opinion against the whole thing as the basis on which this ruinous war would continue for years. But I should not be surprized if France after ratification, should urge it strongly. I have not heard that she would. Whether she do, or not, the present prospect ought, and I so take the liberty of writing, to warn us to be strong and respectable at sea, and not to be lulled into disarming because we have concluded a convention. It is true the motives to respect us have greatly increased both with France and Great Britain, and our junction on either side would be decisive upon at least one side of the globe, either way! I have no *fears* then, but we ought as such a moment to increase the powers of peace—these are naval forces. Affectionately, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CCII.

Rec. Febr 15.
Ans. Febr 17. 9 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I ought to have told you that as I saw the paragraph of a New York paper which communicated the melancholy event I mentioned; I ought to have said that this sort of news is often *false*—as we saw in the accounts of General Washington's death which preceded it a year or more. I wrote in haste, as I received the papers while writing to you, and the post hour was almost come; and I always think that family news can never be too soon known, however distressing; and that a stroke of that sort had better be communicated by and associated with the recollection of the friend who makes it, than left to chance and a newspaper reading. I hope you will pardon the abruptness on account of these motives, for I feared you might fall upon it in some stray paper as I did! This day I have

seen the light 41 years! My birthday. I am older by several years than you. I lost my father when a gay man of twenty-five in the Temple, receiving the intelligence from a cold hearted lawyer in my little town, beginning the letter with a Dutch mourning messenger's nonchalance that he died on such a day! I had a severe day! alone in my little chambers, went into the country in Essex next day to Mr. Harrison's, my good friend, and went to bed, from which I never rose for six weeks. From that time I have kept my heart and mind exceedingly on the poise, and cultivated in all—except Love! that tranquillity of mind of which I once spoke to you in a trek and in which I remember you did not agree with me, fortifying myself by Epictetus (by Miss Carter!), and finding much good in Volusinus *de Tranquilitate animi*. A Scotch author (Wilson), who during my voyage to America, having left my wife, (then Miss Hugens) behind! was a great recourse to my almost distracted mind. To such systems as are I think ours, too much of this doctrine can not be apply'd. To a cold Batave, I would not preach it! Do what we will we shall have little cause to fear stagnation!

As to your position at Berlin, surely the government needs your lights from thence, and especially from the last October, forward as the most important events hang on the north, and you are in the focus of northern intelligence, and we are deeply interested in every step of this coalition. I confess, I fear that a wild headed plan will be formed, after the continent shall have been once fixed in the exclusion plan, to threaten and try to constrain us to join the armed neutrality, and that our trade, if we do not, may be interrupted. I am pretty sure they can neither force nor fool us into this, nor even do without our navigation and the articles we can bring to them. Yet I wish not to see their plan try'd.

A cartel I see by today's Paris papers has just come to Havre—left New York 5 ulto. Great stir about two articles in the Convention [(Confidential.) I *suppose* the *restitution* of *frigates* and the *asylum* of *privateer* articles. The first is a bagatelle unworthy a thought in a great national arrangement in *any* time, even after a war; the last is conciliable with our other engagements, viz. the British treaty. I take it that a saving expression, as that in the British treaty in respect to preceding treaties, is nugatory; at least that its absence does not weaken preceding obligations; that a prior obligation has its force. In Lord Malmesbury's Lisle project he offers to *renew* the two treaties of Utrecht; the 36 art. of the Convention, one of which gives the *same exclusive* right to France and all the intermediary treaties—in most of which the last of 1783 especially renews those of Utrecht. France herself also had those engagements on her hands when she made our treaty in 1778. The whole question is, does a saving expression alter anything. France can

not plead ignorance. This very difficulty was stated to her all the Spring and Summer. Without these we had made no convention, and without both got no vessels from that greedy maw which has disgorged twelve of fifteen under the fourth article.]

I have not a line, but like you I am used to that amiable nonchalance in our Premier which leaves our foreign ministers to trust as much as possible to Providence for at least *forsight* of the points which may engage them under high responsibility. Had it not been for this neglect, I should now have my dear furniture and be richer. I still disbelieve the news of Mr. J[efferson]'s election, notwithstanding the newspapers, government here never received any information at all on the subject; so Mr. V[an der] G[oes] assures me.

The preliminaries have been signed at Lunéville, but will not be known before ratify'd at Vienna. Rhine and Adige for frontiers. The king of Hungary alone make peace. Italy Cisalpine, the Empire to settle by the definitive treaty.

Buys, minister at Stockholm, goes to Petersburg to settle the rapprochement between Russia and this republic. I am always, my dear sir, with affectionate attachment faithfully yours, etc., etc.[1]

CCIII.

14 February, 1801.

Dear Sir: Your letter with your two letters came safely and put me under new favours in the opportunity of perusing them. The preliminaries it is confidently said are signed, and their publicity waits but the ratification of Vienna. They were expected the 11th at Mr. Van der Goes's, where a supper was given to Admiral Bruix, and where a band of music waited till after twelve (in a neighbouring chamber) without an opportunity of welcoming in the olive bearing stranger. The courier came not, and the men of wind and catgut departed with a ducat each. It is said the Rhine and the Adige bound the parties.

I suspect it is time for us, my dear sir, to have our eyes and ears well open on the subject of this silly coalition against Great Britain to discover in time if they do not intend to push us hard, and to prescribe a certain abridgment of our commerce as a menace if we will not join. I have found this all along, and from a hint given to me, or rather words escaped, I begin to fear still more. They are jealous of us also. Lazyness and folly are always so of the industrious and thriving rivals in business. Afterwards I found that some pains were taken to convince me that the intelligence that we should be pushed hard to join *did not come from Paris.*

All the papers say that South Carolina gave every vote to Jefferson and Burr!! Pleasant federalism! wise plans! General P[inckney],

[1] Adams to Murray, February 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

not a vote in his state! If Burr's friends have thrown away only one vote, Burr will be president. As I greatly prefer Jefferson to him, I fear this. Still, till we have the result of the House of Representatives on the 11th past, I can not believe that the President has lost the election. The German papers say I informed government here of Jefferson's election! I never did any such thing, nor anything like it.

I have been bilious for some days. Extreme cold affects me as extreme heat, and we are bitter cold here. Berlin I rejoice to see is gay. Dear sir, always affectly. yours.[1]

CCIV.

17 February, 1801.

Dear Sir: Instead of preliminaries I send you the veritable thing itself—the definitive treaty of peace.

I hear that Sardinia will be *restored;* not a word of Prussia in it, though the secret articles may satisfy the expectations of the treaty of Basle, 1795, between Prussia and France.

I heard a French officer say this evening at the ball given by Mr. de Sémonville, that he understood that an army of 60,000 men were to descend the Danube. If they are to go, fewer would do. As yet I can not believe that any territorial concessions to Austria could induce her to accede to this invasion of Turkey, through her permission.

Mr. Sémonville was in the full dress of the old court—a rich embroidered suit of velvet coat and breeches, and satin waistcoat. This is a small but indicative circumstance. Indeed in his family reigns the ancient urbanity and polish of France. Tell me, my dear sir, what are the exact steps of an *exchange* of *ratifications*, as it is possible I may be ordered to Paris on such a business, though I hope not. We are frozen up—no vessels going out. This evening a boat was sent from Schevening to the Dutch agents for prisoners at London, and carry'd to MM. Van Dyke and Gevers the agents, an officially certify'd copy of the inclosed. I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

CCV.

Rec. Febr. 27.

Ans. Mar. 3. 20 February, 1801.

Dear Sir: I had scarcely read the treaty which I had the pleasure to send to you by last post. But indeed it is a curious affair, and extremely gratuitous in the basis on the side of the Emperor! In the name of diplomacy and logic why refer to the *will* of the Empire as expressed at Rastadt—an *unfinished* negociation. Why cede the property of princes on the left of the Rhine without their consent?

[1] Adams to Murray, February 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

Tuscany, when he has no right to cede it! And promise indemnities from the poor old Germany, which if cut up, carabonaded, and secularized as you please, can not furnish morsels enough to give *enough*, much less satisfy, the hunger of famished sufferers! Alas! the weak are always to be sliced up. And as to my poor Holland, "*Got pless it.*" It has been fighting like a cock—spent its geldt like an English lord, and has got itself classed, in its old age of republicanism and John de Witticism, with dear little Cisalpine, a personage who never struggled three days for *Independence*—much less 70 or 80! merely to be acknowledged independent! though she has offered liberty, legality, and brodershap to her public acts, and says this is the sixth year of liberty! She ought to have had an indemnity for the loss of her Flanders cession much more than Spain in the person of the precious Duke of Parma, agreeably to the message of Bonaparte to the legislature which you will read. "From those who have little, shall be taken," etc., etc. (Mrs. Adams will have the goodness to tell you this is from the Bible!) Notwithstanding, we rejoiced here like pigs, and we shall go into an enormous and disproportioned expense, still as *allies*, in the marine way, and fit out fifteen of the line instead of two which would be about the just quota. So it is to a hunting with the lion and to keep great company! What will you do? Will you really join this flying camp against Great Britain voluntarily, or wait till we send you some of our Bataves who have bled and conquered under Augereau at Würzberg (for indemnities in vain!) to force the eagle to join the cock against the bull. Without joke it will turn out a cock and a bull story I believe; for this treaty of peace I should suppose must indispose Prussia extremely, and without her, the shutting out of the British goods and trade will not do. Hanover it is true would be a sop, but it ought to be doubted if Prussia have not a growing interest in the friendship of Great Britain.

Letters by the cartel to people at Paris say that on the 5 January the *Constellation* was at New York waiting to bring the ratification to Havre. I have not received a word from any one in America a long time, except from my excellent friend Dexter of 18 November. He writes despondingly (though he is not of a gloomy temper) should the federal party lose the President's election.

My Paris letters say that Dallas, Gallatin, Gates, etc., etc., made a tour throughout the United States to prepare Mr. Jefferson's success. If South Carolina voted as is said --*all* for Jefferson and Burr—it is a new proof of the want of activity which characterises the federal men and include all good and sober men, to a faulty degree. They trust to their worth, and are too much of gentlemen to take those means which though legitimate are offensive to men of stately manners. With the government we have, particularly south of New

England, if the gentlemen so act they will leave the affairs in hands which they will be ashamed to submit to. When they do exert themselves I have seen that they always succeed.

I have twice written under the address which you sent me at Paris. Dear sir, I am always sincerely yours, etc., etc.[1]

CCVI.

24 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your letter with its enclosed pieces came safely this morning, but too late for me to enjoy before the post hour and at the same time acknowledge their receipt. No vessel goes very soon. Pray, in future give me a discretionary power over them, to send them by some good hand to Mr. King's care if any offer.

My dear sir, as to the President's illness I very lately saw it mentioned in a paper of 7 January of New York as removed, and that he was recovered; but as he was recovered I did not mention it in my last. For the same paper gave the first news of the evil and its removal. So I hope there is no ground for a continuance of your uneasiness; besides he is a very healthy man.

On all sides it would seem that Jefferson and Burr have 73 votes—but the *states* vote in the House of Representatives—a majority of *states* is necessary to the election. Hence I see a probability of *another* election. Maryland for example has eight members, New Jersey, six, Delaware, one. It might happen that sickness and difference on the two candidates might detain some at their lodgings, and *divide* others, so as to bring the votes down to eight states for one and seven for the other. Yet the President must in this case be elected by *nine* STATES. All this would not surprise me, if it arrive.

Prussia we have heard for some days has remonstrated warmly at St. James's on the embargo. Hanover I suppose will be her string by which she will try to pull the British minister back, and day before yesterday we heard of the resignation of Mr. Pitt[2]—now near eighteen years Premier. He has held a very splendid career! And though he has not been always successful, yet escaping ruin has been a sort of success for his government and nation. His successor and college friend, Mr. Addington,[3] I remember—a grave and powerful mind, not as brilliant and lofty as Pitt's, but a very able man. Dear sir, I am always affectionately yours.[4]

CCVII.

28 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I am sick with bile, fevers, etc., etc., and have been for some time, and of course can thank you only for the perusal which

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[1] Adams to Murray, February 24, 1801, in Adams MSS.

[2] He announced to the King his resignation February 3, 1801.

[3] Henry Addington (1757–1844).

[4] Adams to Murray, February 28, 1801, in Adams MSS.

you so kindly permitted me to enjoy of your late dispatch. In ten days your letters will go from Amsterdam.

In France vessels, I hear, frequently arrive, *i. e.* several have lately. I get nothing. My letters of 22 from thence say that by letters from America it seems that the federal party in Congress will push Burr for the Presidency, if he have equality of votes; and as they vote by *states*, I do suspect that Burr will be President, or that there will be *no* election. The news is also that they are disarming. I can not believe this, and it would be too unguarded to lay by their wooden walls during this enterprising and disjointed period!

We have nothing new here. Great preparations in the marine for the spring campaign. They will have fifteen of the line! a prodigious force considering their relative general force with their numerous allies and coadjutors. Dear sir, I am always affectionately, etc.

CCVIII.

Rec. Mar. 13.
Ans. Mar. 14. 7 March, 1801.

Dear Sir: The top still spins, and we must also have a *change* as well as the rest of the world. Three days since the Directory sent a message to the Chambers advising an anticipated revision of the constitution, which by its terms can not be revised till after five years shall have elapsed from its acceptation, or rather the fiat of that gentle lamblike diplomat, Cha. La Croix, in 1798 in the Spring. The Directory advise a calling of the primary assemblies upon the *revision* question, and they offer in the mean time, if the legislature see fit, to employ themselves in preparing changes in the constitution. Their object is I believe to simplify, and sweat down the volume it now fills into a sheet; to open the door to all parties, seven-tenths of the respectable people being now excluded by the *test* oath; to make the line between legislature and executive strong and distinct, and the latter independent; to admit a little of the federative principle in taxation; to diminish many places which the confusion of the times set up.

This error I think is an appeal to the primary assemblies, as a preparatory step, for these are not the people of this country. They are I believe those who are *called*, and the test keeps hundreds of thousands away. In fact they have been a most barefaced imposture. Should this appeal prove against the revision, then, if they proceed, every step will be forced, and the revision which by the bye it is predetermined shall take place, will be, agreeably to the trial admitted as a fair one, in opposition to the national will. France merely *advises*, but I hear denies any controul. Of five Directors two are it is understood against this measure. These two are Mr. Van

Swinden,[1] the late professor, of Amsterdam, and Harsolte[2] a noble of Guilderland. Basien, Hoeth[3] and Ermerins are for it.

Some step of this sort has been urged by the eternal opposition of the legislature to the Directory—the first having too much of the High Mightiness, the last being but commis. In fact they turn over the President's defence of our Constitutions night and day to find the balance well proved, as essential. That work, to my knowledge has had a great influence, particularly for about five months, when I returned in October I was consulted by many on some parts of our National Constitution and found they had been studying your father's book on its principles. If they are *permitted*, they will borrow freely from our system.

The message was referred, after a warm debate against the right to discuss the message as unconstitutional, to twelve members of all parties. Your friend Van Leyden is in opposition.

We shall I believe see Geislaars[4] party of eighty-seven come in. The Orangists I fear will not join—a few excepted.

Letters from Paris say that a negociation is going on, but I believe not publicly, between Great Britain and France. God give it a pacific end'! . . .

You forget your bale of books. They are with mine in the Hotel des États Unis in the Burgwaal. They could be sent to Boston for you. I have thought of this among a thousand other small matters as the spring advances and after the past third of this month, and especially because I see by the London papers (which are in lieu of *state correspondence'*!) that our poor Convention is execrated, and it was believed the Senate would not consent, "because it was disgraceful and injurious"!! Now I must keep my mind prepared for either side, and look forward (secretly) to recalls, rubs, etc., etc., or some act that would render it proper for me to go home by choice. I have not heard as yet, but through the papers; as yet I can not believe that the Convention will go unratify'd. I am always truly, dear sir.

Tripoli is at war with us. So the consul of the United States there has written in circulars to the French ports. This however comes by a private letter to me from Paris.[5]

CCIX.

Rec. Mar. 16.
Ans. Mar. 17. 10 February [March], 1801.

Dear Sir: I thank you for *your* little poem, for it has the air of originality, though there are turns in it which indicate an ancient

[1] J. H. van Swinden.
[2] A. F. R. E. Baron van Haersolte.
[3] A. W. Hoeth.
[4] Cornelis de Gijselaer?
[5] Adams to Murray, March 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

model. I am also unacquainted with Catullus. I rather believe that all that is expressive of real distress and the pathetic breathings after a consolation at once so humble and so sublime as

"A well spent life unstain'd with crime
And not a trace of broken faith behind"

can hardly be in the original.

The "Regard my woes, my blameless life befriend"!

No ancient ever reached that I am acquainted with. I know not how one gets a bad reputation, for though I have little taste for mere rhyming—at least in others—yet I consider a real flowing of nature in the poetical dress, particularly the tender and the sorrowing, as precious. That dress is to such feelings what beauty is to tears; when united they are doubly sweet and commanding.

As to figurative language, I have taken great pains to correct it in a degree—it is a failing—but it is as complexinal as any of my manners and morals. Besides the difficulty to avoid it's excess, in which is the error, lies also in our language, I believe in particular, and generally essentially must be found in writing plainly in any.

For instance.

I *mentioned* in my last that Haersolte also was *opposed* to any change in the constitution; but I believe that Mr. Van Swinden alone *forms* the minority. The Commission of twelve to whom the message of the 4th was referred, will *report* on Monday and unless some *silent* but *strong* influence be *exerted*, this *report* will be *against* the proposed revision.

All the words interlined are figurative. Yet this would not be called a figurative style. Scarcely do we speak but in figures in daily talk. So, as it seems to be an evil (if it be one) *born* in the *bone* with us and ours, I must jog on.

But, my dear sir, something more distressing to me personal I fear is at hand. Mr. King informs me that *letters from Boston of 21 January say that the Senate had recommended ratification on condition that the 2d and 3d articles be expunged.* Like a man of sound mind and intelligence as he is, and a friend to our neutral situation he deeply laments this. The 2d article, postponing the consideration of indemnities and treaties, it is possible B[onaparte] might have little objection to expunge—as to the *thing;* but as it has been published, I doubt. But as to the 3d article, the restoration of public ships on each side, I do not believe that he will consent to expunge that! The real glory was in *taking* them. By *restoring* we show that though we value their friendship we have little cause to dread their maritime enmity; and as no formal war had existed and it was mutual, we had less ground on principle, to oppose their proposition. I, for my country and for us three, who took certainly great responsibility on ourselves on the *2d article!* I do deeply lament it, while my

conscience is even more erect and proud than ever, let what may come of it—effigies, recalls, impeachments, or not. However this is very bold, while all these trials have not yet arrived. I hope in Providence, that that "*ray*" which beyond calculation, illumines your philosophy and maxims may dispel the gloom which hangs over us, and that the evils which ought to be guarded against by the United States as possible consequences of this rejection, may yet never come! In the meantime I have not one line!

The papers say Mr. Jay is Chief Justice, and my friend Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury. I am always affectionately, my dear sir, yours.[1]

CCX.

DEAR SIR: You will have at Berlin as the minister of this Republic, Mr. Hultman,[2] formerly in the Convention, and now Secretary of the Directory, and who was, among others sent by Charles La Croix to pass eight months in the House in the Wood. But Hultman is not openly to be received; he will work on the Orange indemnity, afterwards he is to be public minister. They ought to make Bielfeld their minister here. I like him greatly more than I did at first, and he is esteemed here. He has also had the rough of the times as a secretary of legation.

Our bankers have received letters of 4 February from the United States. These say the Convention was REJECTED, 16 to 14. You know that to agree demands two-thirds. I can not on this authority believe it. Mr. John Marshall, out of the State Department and is Chief Justice; Jay refused.

Our committee report today on the revision. It will be favourable—I fear the O[rangists] will not join, though they ought if they ever mean to do so. I am yet exceedingly unwell, but always affect'ly yours, etc., etc.

Burr will certainly be pushed for President; at Boston the feds. are for him because he has not expressed himself on certain points as Mr. Jefferson has done, and will be favourable to commerce and navigation, and because (the true one) it will divide the party.[3]

CCXI.

Rec. Apr. 2.

Ans. Apr. 4. 23 MARCH, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I am indebted to you the two last posts for your letter with your fable, and of today with your critique in my praises. Your fable is too good because true, to be used at present in the United States with the utility it ought to produce; besides I love

[1] Adams to Murray, March 14, 1801, in Adams MSS.

[2] Carel Gerard Hultman.

[3] Adams to Murray, March 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

the poor ram who died nobly. The moral and the glory do not go well together. I had rather that he should have been defeated for want of skill and preparation, than die in defence of a just cause. The utility would then have been in what wisdom united to courage might supply—time, growth, skill, *postponement* of the question. It is true his fate discourages rashness, but his example does not go further.

I still like the line better than the "me miserum adspicite et si vitam puriter egi"! *Puriter* is figurative; "*blameless*" is absolutely neat, simple, and is precisely a *moral* idea, and NO OTHER! It thus gives that idea of innocence of which the ancients had not I believe a profound idea. Perfect innocence is in modern morals a sublime and meritorious *virtue*. This arises from the Christian doctrines, and though poets and philosophers may have discarded revelation, still their taste and moral ideas have been moulded in those common, popular opinions which have sprung in a great measure from the popular religion. You and I have vitam *puriter* acti, but we are not *innocent*, or blameless. Life has not with us past enough in "the, *noiseless* tenour" for that! "nulla culpa pallescere" is, not to reach a merit in which we can not reproach ourselves in a consciousness of omission as well as of commission. But my idea *was*, that the *appeal was to the gods*, who had witnessed his blameless life, and now his unhappiness! So much for the interesting word blameless, as more affecting and pathetic than purity. I did not probably express my admiration of the line with sufficient precision as connected with the appeal to the gods, a thing I certainly meant.

Regard my woes! my blameless life befriend!

Who ever utters that to the gods has no reason to add *if I have not past a blameless life, continue my woes!* The truth is averred in the appeal to omniscience. So it is equally pathetic with the *Si*. "Be persuaded Sir!" as Sedgwick used to say to the house.

Ah! as to our restored ships and gallant crews! My dear sir, your just remarks have opened the feelings which tortured me on that article. I know it all. *It did grieve me to the heart by a* STROKE *of the pen to resign them!*

I differ from you however as to the word *war* being immaterial. Words are things in this case. We are not at war. Our demands were surely bottomed on an *interruption*, not war. Our demands were on the justice of France not as for *indemnities* as between nations making peace. We did not get justice, but they offered it on conditions which the United States might have agreed to, viz. replacement *in totidem verbis* and without any modification of any importance of *treaties* and *C*[ommercial] *Convention*, and which I rejoice we did not accept. They then promised to do justice in future and to give a pledge by restoring uncondemned ships and

cargoes. Had we been at war they could have had no right to demand a restoration of the public ships, but as it was not war, and and as we would not restore their former treaty of commerce and alliance, etc., etc., we had the less ground to resist a proposition for a *mutual* restoration of public ships.

Had we said it was not war *till* a certain period, we could have asked for compensation (as a matter of right) up to that time. (We demanded it under treaties and the law of nations for *all*—of course no war.) In such case we had been bound to do as well as ask justice. In such case it would not have been extraordinary to give back mutually all things taken *before* war! But we had no war. Well, France, it may be said, was bound to give back *all*, on that principle. Yes and so were we! But there was one item which we would not give back; *treaties, alliance*, commercial *convention!*

I believe it is unusual for *equal* nations to keep *public* property after harmony is restored on a mere *interruption*. In this case there was perfect equality; no threat, no fear, but the accession to a principle, painful in the extreme to admit, but necessarily flowing from the peculiar, tangled, strange state of the case! The repugnance which I felt against the article was entirely from sentiment. It was *right* on the whole principle of the negociation to restore the public ships, and the peculiar state of things made it expedient. I fully felt what our gallant navy would feel—men who do not all enter into a long train of reasoning, though many of our officers I am sure will seize the true principle and see the propriety of the step.

28 March. I was too late for the last post. Letters to Amsterdam of 7 and I think 20th February say that the Convention is ratify'd and that, Maryland and Vermont being divided in their votes on a President, Mr. Jefferson had 8, and Mr. Burr 6—of course *at the time* no choice. These are private mercantile letters. I am always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.[1]

CCXII.

Rec. Apr. 5.
Ans. Apr. 7. THE HAGUE, *30 March, 1801.*

DEAR SIR: I received yours of 24 this moment. The letter which you trust to my care for your father shall go very soon from Rotterdam, and with your bale of books to Boston. The letter of 24 ulto. came safely with that inclosed to your brother, and though I neglected to acknowledge its reception, your brother's letter went three weeks since from Amsterdam, inclosed to Mr. Marshall.

Your remarks, my dear sir, on the Convention are what I expected. That act compared with our *rights*, which we failed to obtain, is cer-

[1] Adams to Murray, March 24, 1801, in Adams MSS.

tainly not a thing to *boast* of—but it is honourable to us as we make no sacrifice by it. What other nation has treated us well? It is true we were not in the power of France, and if united have little to fear from her or any power; but policy dictated an arrangement of some sort. Could we expect a better if we had a fleet even of forty sail of the line, with the temper of our government not to form an alliance even during a war?

As to domestic symptoms, at the hard time of the negociation comes news that the six of the line were put by to season!!!! and Mr. Rutledge's letter to his constituents. Now it is true, I believe, that the French did not over-rate the compulsory force of six of the line, yet any one could judge from this postponement, of the *disposition* of the nation, and that pacific expectations were *popular* things to hold out to the people! They ought to have *voted* twenty of the line, *i. e.* placed the whole to that extent in the President's policy; and instead of dissolving twelve regiments, *voted* forty, in the President's power, at least till the negociations were ended. Not that I suppose forty regiments and twenty of the line would frighten France, but it would have shown the hand of the infant giant, with his *disposition* to go on. The idea too that we would *not ally with Great Britain* (*vid.* the the emphatic and gratuitous and uncalled for pomp of spunk in the answer of the House of Representatives December, '98, I think about foreign *protection*!!) weakened us in the ratio of France's fears that we would ally with her! These effusions of popularity, uncalled for, will always hurt us. Great Britain with her popular mixed government has a hard time to get along with them, but we have a ten fold difficulty. Yet our people expect just as much success as energy of government wielding a united force could promise, and when they are disappointed, as they feel courage to encounter danger, they are astonished, not recalling that unconcentered councils and courage waste themselves in air. But I will not indulge any farther a splenetic thought, lest you might think that I felt your remarks with too much sensibility. They only renew'd those painful feelings which I certainly felt on the restoration article, though I still believe it was even right as well as expedient. Yet this was a point so interwoven with the noble combats of our navy that I could not feel as a mere politician, though the case demanded that command of sensibility.

Letters of 20 February at *Amsterdam* (for of course your humble servant has none!) say that the Convention is ratify'd, except the 2d article; that Mr. Jefferson is President; and Burr vice President; that Maryland and Vermont were long *divided*—Jefferson 8 votes, Burr 6, but at last Mr. Jefferson got his majority and constitutional plurality. I deeply regret the election and wish there had been *none*.

But, my dear sir, I fear that we have another iron in the fire—that France is to have the Floridas and Louisiana!!! I am endeavouring to ascertain the truth, but think, now, that there is great reason to believe it. The treaty of Lunéville, by giving Tuscany to the Duke of Parma was enough to excite a recollection of Carnot's pamphlet, and of Chs. La Croix's conversation here three years since, and lately the French papers have said this I hear. I have not seen them on this subject.

I do not like your plan though I am sure I shall your Silesian letters. The timidity of a periodical introduction is not for you! Besides, there is a charm in *a whole* in a work; magazines fritter away this! They ought to have come out in a handsome volume, to do justice to them and credit to our American literature. And permit me to say that where you are you might have prints worked off from views which perhaps you could find at Berlin or Dresden. The object is to excite a taste for elegant inquiries and useful knowledge. Prints are useful to compleat this design—not for learned men and the universities, but for us as we are. I have not seen Mr. Gentz essay. I had heard of it, and if you have a copy in your translation printed I will be very thankful for it by some private hand.[1] I never saw a parallel yet of any sort that was not as diverging as a cart wheel, upon our revolution.

You will much oblige me if you can inform me of the state of our trade in the Baltic, viz. can our vessels trade with freedom to Russian ports, Swedish and Danish, and take away naval stores for *neutral ports?* I saw a piece in a newspaper from Russia of a prohibitory nature, but do not know if it was authentic.

If you receive a number of the *Folio*[2] pray inclose it to satisfy my impatience to enjoy your tour in that interesting country. I could add some which gave me great pleasure from you while on your tour, and I shall doubly enjoy the Silesian letters as you did me the favour to write to me from that country. I am affectionately yours always, dear sir, etc., etc.[3]

CCXIII.

4 April, 1801.

Dear Sir: On the 30, on the appearance of a British fleet off the Meuse, they laid a general embargo. As this pressed almost exclusively on our trade and the wind fair, I addressed a note the next day, after receiving a crowd of complaints. This was the first intimation I had of it, for the government sent *no notice* to us. The merchts of Rotterdam and Amsterdam petitioned and the embargo was raised,

[1] Adams had translated Friedrich Gentz's "Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, compared with the French Revolution." The translation was printed in 1800.

[2] Dennie's Portfolio.

[3] Adams to Murray, April 4, 1801, in Adams MSS.

Mr. Van der Goes informed me day before yesterday, from the American vessels—I presume from all, though the British fleet operates like one on the Danes and Swedes; and I suppose by this time upon the Prussian, as it is said Prussia has occupy'd Hanover and Bremen, Duchy and the sovereign city also, as Denmark has Hamburg. Though such strokes of the power of the strong against the feeble are not unprecedented, yet they strike one as monstrous.

Your bale of books has gone by Capt. Atkins of and for Boston to the care of Mr. W. Smith [1] of Boston, in one of Mr. Smith's vessels. I had but a moment's time by a Captain to send the letter to the President inclosed with a few lines to him by the same conveyance. This fine sunny weather has cured me. Sun is mind to me. I wrote you a long prosing letter by last post. I believe our new constitution has come six days since from Paris. The O[rangists] will not unite I fear. Affectionately always, dear sir, etc., etc.[2]

CCXIV.

18 April, 1801.

I learn from Paris, through a foreign minister there to whom I wrote, that as yet there is no ground for the report of the *cession* of which we have spoken.

I learn also here that there is great *inquietude* at Paris on the death of Paul;[3] that they and the English will negociate seriously; that the principal first obstacles will be the secret articles of Lunéville for the German indemnities; that B[onaparte]'s first answer was exactly as that of the British after Marengo, that he was disposed to negociate but must consult his allies. Alexander's expressions respecting England were pacific on the 25 ulto. He avoids *titles* in his letter to this government and in his proclamation, and, it is said, that Malta will be no obstacle to an adjustment.

Your letters went last night to go from the Texel. I thank you for the permission to read yours to government.

I have Capt. Atkins's receipt for your bale of books. Our ships left Helvoet the 15th for the United States.

An attempt will probably be made on Gibraltar instead of Portugal by 15,000. In haste I am affect'ly yours, dear sir.

I have not a line from government on any subject, nor do I know of the election, nor of the Convention.[4]

CCXV.

25 April, 1801.

Dear Sir: I received a letter from my late secretary at Baltimore, dated 28 February, day before yesterday. He informs that it was

[1] William Smith, merchant, a nephew of Mrs. John Adams.
[2] Adams to Murray, April 7, 11, 1801, in Adams MSS.
[3] Paul I (1754–1801) was murdered March 11, 1801, and was succeeded by his son Alexander I (1777–1825).
[4] Adams to Murray, April 25, 1801, in Adams MSS.

reported that the President, your father, had recalled you from Berlin.[1] This is unpleasant news to tell you of, but I have lost so much by want of timely and precise news respecting myself, that I discharge what I consider as a painful duty to give the earliest hint of it. I had hoped he would not have moved you, under a persuasion and hope that Mr. Jefferson would, but to another equal station of diplomacy—if you were moved at all!

Letters from Bordeaux say that the intercourse with France is opened, vessels often arrive. Some from Philadelphia of 8 March say that Mr. Bayard[2] of Delaware was named Minister to France by the late President, and declined, and that Mr. Jefferson has appointed Mr. Short,[3] who is at Paris. Short is an estimable man, and of political notions at least *up* to *ours*. Madison spoken of for State, General Smith for the Navy. Inclosed is a list of good consular appointments by your father for France. As to myself, as our old Irish parson at Cambridge used to advise his fellow Xtians to do, figuratively, "I eat in my boots, sleep in my boots and live in my boots," ready for the word of departure, for probably the hour is at hand. Dear sir, I am, in and out of my boots, always affectionately yours, etc., etc.

CCXVI.

Rec. May 7.
Ans. May 9. 2 May, 1801.

Dear Sir:

. . . . . .

Should you be removed from Berlin I should expect that Mr. Jefferson would offer you Copenhagen, I hope so at least, as a thing natural, though I have not heard, or Petersburg, whether I think there was some idea two years since of having a minister. I can not think that he will let you return. I have always supposed it highly probable that Mr. Smith and I would be recalled, but that you and Mr. King and Colonel Humphreys would remain or be employ'd. Though your politics were known, yet you three were not in the bustlings of '96 at home, and whatever be Mr. Jefferson's personal manners and feelings, I am sure there are men near him who are thorough stitch; though if Madison be secretary of state there will be more justice and liberality of opinions on party men. He is the best of them all. Have you seen the speech? Had it been less academic and less a *creed* I had liked it more.

My fear as to Russia is that she will rush into the arms of Great Britain in time to feed the pride of the latter too much for a negociation which will demand some pliancy on her part, unless at the same time Abercrombie be taken or be driven from Egypt. That would

[1] "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 498.
[2] James Asheton Bayard (1767–1815).
[3] William Short (1759–1849).

make the evacuation of that country the price of the restoration of colonies—a thing I wish to see exactly at that price.

The pacific party in the Cabinet of Copenhagen, Count Schimmenman, etc., etc., ever since the 2d ulto gained an influence over the other and warmer side, the Prince, Duke D'Augustenburg [1] and Bernstorff. The death of Paul I really believe will fix and increase that influence, and as Russia has opened something like a negociation with the British admirals for a suspension of hostilities, till the result of the dispatches to Count Woranzof [2] at London could be known, I am inclined to hope that the north will be entirely pacify'd in this summer.

Mr. Van Polanen returns as minister to our government. He sets off in twelve days.

Your letter shall go as you request to Mr. Bourne. As to the bale and its expenses I can not say. They made it pay export duties, rating the books at about an hundred guilders on which I presume the duties would be 3½ per cent., transportation to Rotterdam a trifle. So you see it is nothing—some four or five guilders. I have not heard of the expenses from our Consul whom I desired to pay them, but they do not merit your attention and are too minute to draw forth *remittances* under bills of exchange, produce, insurance from Berlin, etc., etc., etc. Send me a little print of some building or walk at Berlin in a letter; if you will do me that favour it will set your conscience at rest and more than pay me.

Accept my thanks for *your* translation (so I consider it) of Mr. Gentz's pamphlet. I received it last night, and am much pleased with the opinions of the introduction upon the work. . . . I am truly my dear Sir yrs always.

CCXVII.

5 MAY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I this moment hear from Mr. King. He says Madison is Secretary of State, Chancellor Livingston of New York, Minister at Paris,[3] Levi Lincoln, Attorney General [4] (Mr. Lee [5] is a Judge), General Dearborn, Secretary at War.[6] The Chancellor I presume is on his way with the Convention to obtain the changes. The limitation (*entre nous*) I suspect will be difficult, as the equality on privateer privileges they considered as a sort of consideration for the loss of the other treaties, valuable only as it was a fixed system. I wish truly that he may succeed. Mr. J. R. Murray is here and speaks often of you and Mrs. Adams very gratefully. He is a well informed

[1] Christian August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, Prince of Augustenburg (1768–1810).
[2] Count Simon Woronzow.
[3] Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813). His appointment was dated October 2, 1801.
[4] Levi Lincoln (1749–1820). He served until August, 1805.
[5] Charles Lee (1758–1815). Jefferson offered him the chief justiceship, but he declined.
[6] Henry Dearborn (1751–1829). He was Secretary of War until 1809.

ingenious man, and has seen and observed a great deal in his Russian and Hungarian tours. Will you do me the favour to throw into your next a dozen seed of a turnip much loved and praised in Prussia or rather at Berlin—it is long rather than globular. . . . I am always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

CCXVIII.

Rec. May 21.
Ans. May 23. 16 May, 1801.

Dear Sir:

. . . . . .

As to your duties I can easily suppose that a reading thinking man of genius will be likely to work up his imagination upon a such a point till the weight oppresses. In *natural common* things one ought to feel and act with the same sentiments which a worthy ploughman entertains without reasoning or system. Nature will take care of the rest. The very perspective which you have formed of these duties and cares is a proof that they will be discharged. Mr. Gentz's essay has given me great pleasure. He has methodised his materials in a very fine manner and reasoned out his propositions luminously. Mrs. M[urray] got hold of it first, and I believe it is the first piece of that nature that she ever read entire. The shortness promised little fatigue, and the relation between great events and doctrines generally enveloped in voluminous details were so clearly and neatly brought into view and handled, that even a lady of good sense will read the work with pleasure and have a clear opinion after of the subject. I did not observe the idea of which you complain on your own part of the work. That the sense is instantly seen at the bottom is a proof that the medium is clear and not muddy.

I wish you would induce this respectable author to treat upon the rapprochement between Roman and French policy in relation to free cities, *independent* allies, provinces and the steps of their conquests. Beaufort's second volume of the Roman Republic [1] is full of very well arranged matter on this point (published in 1764), a French work which I read two winters since with the blue devils always on my shoulder.

Last night I received a letter signed J. Dawson,[2] dated Havre, telling me that he had just arrived in the *Maryland* sloop of war and that the President (he left Hampton Roads the 1 April) had given the Convention ratify'd to his care to be given to Mr. Ellsworth or to me, with our instructions and appointment, to *either* or both; and then with great *sang froid* begs me to come to Paris where he will deliver these papers. I have answered that before I quit my post here it is necessary I should have something official, and that a pri-

[1] L. de Beaufort, "La République Romaine" (1765). [2] John Dawson (1762–1814).

vate letter from a person whom I do not know that I am acquainted with is not sufficient authority for me to go upon a public mission to Paris; that he ought to have sent by express some letter from the Secretary of State. He tells me that he wrote from the British channel to Mr. Ellsworth, to Mr. King's care, inviting him to come immediately to Paris!! to receive his instructions and appointment with me. I advise him to send Mr. E's letter to him, else Mr. E. will scarcely suppose the invitation serious. It is astonishing!! At the same time, or half an hour after, I received a letter from our late appointed consul at Paris of the 11th saying, "An express from Havre has just arrived in sixteen hours and informs that a sloop of war of the United States has just arrived with a minister to France."

So I must wait till this negligent Mr. D[awson] send me something like an official order. Why this Convention should be kept till 1 April is strange. I know the importance of finishing the business but considering the state of absolute ignorance in which I am, I can not act so ridiculous a part as to run to Paris on the letter of a private man whom I do not know, that I know of, and who is but the mere bearer of the papers.

Whatever be my repugnance to undertake to negociate further on this disagreeable mission I shall feel it my duty to hasten to Paris the moment I am ordered, but not before. Vessels (5) arrive every week at the Texel and in the Meuse from the United States and I have not one word from government though two months and a half have elapsed since the ratification. As to Mr. E[llsworth], I doubt much if he will join me—much less go on Mr. Dawson's invitation. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

V[an] P[olanen] has gone, but other opportunities occur weekly almost.

P. S. I have not met with *La Fin de l'an 8*, but will get it.

Colonel H[umphreys] writes me from Madrid that I may depend on it that the poor Portuguese will fight to a man on their frontier, that it is possible they may be *conquered*, but will not *Treat* on such ominous terms. Fair speed that effort!

CCXIX.

Rec. June 30.

Ans. July 1. [PARIS,] *10 June, 1801.*

DEAR SIR: Your two favours reached me here, the last after 23d May, three days since.

As yet the exchange meets with no palpable obstruction except in the *delays* which seem to grow naturally out of the way of doing business here, though, as I am not through the wood, I do not halloo. Yes the dissolution of the armed neutrality will be of use to us, though there are men who study newspapers in the United States

who eternally babble with a triumphant chuckle that we are out of European politics, while we are perpetually affected by them! My news from Baltimore is that the change in our foreign corps will be gradual but thorough stitch.[1] I care not how soon! for I confess I do not like to act with men with whose opinions I am not heart in hand, though I know I shall be but a planter of potatoes whenever I return, being good for nothing on earth and with not 1000 dollrs income. Dust to dust ashes to ashes! so we go. However I have always try'd to keep my mind clean from the influence of *temporary* and *better modes* of *life* than what my little private affairs at home led me into, and to be ready to shake hands with Fortune when she shook her wings. This is not Horace's poetical boast, but what I *trust* to with confidence.

As Dawson is charged with the *movements* and *return* of the *frigate!* and the papers, he plagues me a little for information. He was presented before my arrival by Mr. T[alleyrand] to the Premiér Consul, not at a public audience I believe, and since has been much about among the public men. The papers announced him as minister, and his French servant has on two occasions announced him as ministre des États Unis. I let him know of the latter error. It was without his knowledge he assures me, and I believe it. He sees Tom Paine, Barlow, Barney,[2] etc., etc. I met Barney there yesterday morning. He brought a letter I learn from a great personage [3] to Tom! I lament this; it will do us harm here and throughout Europe. The papers announce it. If his maitre d'hotel had received orders to send Tom a hogshead of your New England and a few guineas, it had not made a noise and had been more *philanthropic*.

You tell me of Gentz. I can assure you that the Observations which went with Les défenseurs de la patrie about the first week of February last, against the metaphysical politicians, were not written by Roederer nor Boulay, as I suspected, but were dictated by the *Premier* C[onsul] himself. They are HIS. I rejoice that I sent them to government; they got there about the middle of March I suppose. B[onaparte], I hear, suffers no opportunity to pass of abusing the metaphysical school. How I rejoice at this!

Boulay with whom I dined yesterday at the Consul Cambacérès, told me that he is upon a Tableau de la République, form of government, and *present* state, etc., etc.[4] We heartily agreed in abusing the metaphysicians. He spoke of the *Defence of our Constitutions* [5] and said it bears the marks of haste as to its manner, but it is the

[1] Among the first acts of Jefferson's administration the legations to Spain and Holland were abolished. "Writings of Madison" (Hunt), VI, 422.

[2] Joshua Barney (1759–1818).

[3] Jefferson to Paine, March 18, 1801, offering a return voyage in a public vessel.

[4] "Tableau politique des Règnes de Charles II et de Jacques II." It was not published until 1818.

[5] By John Adams.

true system and the only thing we have that deserves to be follow'd; that he had been greatly indebted to it. I mentioned the Federalist also as excellent. It is however posterior as he remarked. Roger Ducos there. I had a good deal of chat with him, a thin man about 45, *fin*, but I should suppose not strong enough for the Executive. You love wise sayings—take this. A man of public character who knows us well lamented deeply the wild theories and opinions which he said he saw had got into the United States from France, and the extreme nauseous insolence of many of our presses against government. He said, *Monsieur, actuellement nous sommes les vrais Fédéralistes!* I said, les Féds. *seront encore les maitres*, and their principles will govern our new administration. He rejoiced but seems to doubt!

My dear sir, a man ought to be three months in this vast world before he could give you information. "We are all republicans." A king is here, it is true, but he comes from *our* loins and holds his Etruscan sceptre in *our* gloves—I mean republican gloves; for as to Louisiana and Floridas it is all deny'd here. He is a clever man and well bred. His young queen, about 18, *pas mal* as the incroyables say. They are fêted nobly. Talleyrand gave a *fête champêtre* three nights since at Neuilly. It was indeed very noble and enchanting. The king and his little court was there (it was for them), but the Consul was not. Cambacérès was. Their papers do not do it justice, nor did they that of Morfontaine. In works of taste their performance is beyond their promise and their description; in political below. Nothing so beautiful as their grand fêtes, opera, etc., etc.; nothing so sweet as the public speeches on philanthropy, when the town was a butchery. Thank heaven, they are treading back their steps as to interior, and *better* as to exterior, as fast as the form of government enables them. . . .

I shall procure a print of the fête at Morfontaine. They have taken some poetical license, but it is a pretty print which I shall have the honour of sending to your father.

Write under cover to citizen *Delessert, Banquier, Rue Coqheron, Paris.*

The poor Ram. The blackeagle may sing "*Sic vos non vobis.*" *We* are drawing in our horns too fast. Instead of selling frigates and putting up others, we ought to buy or put down keels for them. Many here speak with astonishment at this.

Pray present me respectfully to Mrs. Adams and think of Holland as your route. Yours, my dear sir, always.

Count Lucchesini speaks often of you. I recommended Bielfeld for the Hague.

CCXX.

Rec. Nov. 25 at Quincy. PARIS, *15th July, 1801.*

DEAR SIR: I send this to Amsterdam for the United States, supposing that this time you must have embarked.[1] Perhaps it may greet you on your arrival at Quincy, your paternal seat, where I should love to be for some days to talk over with you the scenes which we have passed, and the scenes *before* us. This may not be impossible. A concurrence of things, public and private have determined me to ask leave to return, but I shall delay to ask leave till I return to the Hague, as I wish to go in March and not before. I have so resolved for two or three weeks since. I postpone my letter, because should I fail here in the present little negociation, after having manifested such a resolution to government, the failure might by the *benevolent* part of our country be imputed to me partly as a splenetic man adverse to the present administration; besides, as in truth I do not wish to return till March, I would not like to have the permission till February. So I will write next month or September. From all I hear it seems pretty certain besides that the President wishes to get rid of all the old set, and I hear much of changes that look like a party change; and though a very unimportant man, I would stand or fall with the men and principles of the two last administrations. Besides it is probable that he may leave me no choice, and I will try to be beforehand as soon as I ought to do so.

We advance slowly on, but the point is pretty well fixed on which we shall close, and ratifications I expect will be exchanged in five or seven days, on a principle that I think ought to be accepted by the United States.

In my opinion every day will show us that the present government of France is more friendly to your father's system and political opinions than to those of Mr. J[efferson]. To me this is a consolation merely in this respect, that it can proceed from nothing but the triumph of experience and of necessity over visionary speculation; that it will prove their truth by a great example in whose late effects we have witnessed for thirteen years a struggle against nature and them—for theory here is treading back her steps, a severe and awkward thing—an improvement at a higher sacrifice of self love than when she advances by new discoveries; but necessity will be obey'd.

They talk in the cafés of an invasion, but though the preparation is immense, I doubt it.

Cardinal Consalvi,[2] the pope's ambassador is here. He has signed, or will sign a treaty or concordat to regulate Catholic consciences in France and their relations with his Holiness. I have conversed with him and he seems well satisfy'd. Perhaps he will make better terms

[1] Adams left Berlin June 17.

[2] Hercule Consalvi (1757–1824).

with B[onaparte] than with Spain on many points. B[onaparte] is Catholic. The Abbé Berlieu, late a Vendéan, is much with him in town and country. B[onaparte] will appoint fifty bishops and the Pope will approve. This is a wise and a good stroke of policy, and a just one in B[onaparte], and will aid his government. It is true it will also prepare the way for another state of things on his death, and France, the mass, is not only Catholic but Roman also! Lord, Lord, what have this gallant and graceful people been turned topsy turvy for? A rope dancer, or any dancer after all, is obliged to *walk* instead of vault eternally.

From the Hague I shall you write again. Your letters under cover to our bankers will come safe and they will as usual contain a real consolation for me. Alas how little do the affairs of poor distressed Holland enter into the heads of the people here. God preserve the independence of all nations!

Pray consider my affectionate and most respectful compliments to Mr. Adams and Mrs. Adams, your mother, as a sincere tribute of the feelings of youthful times and of manhood entering upon the green old age! and render them acceptable.

Accept Mrs. M's and my compliments of affectionate esteem, and our regrets for your loss in Europe of and for yourself and Mrs. Adams, and believe me always faithfully, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CCXXI.

PARIS, *8 August, 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: A Mr. Manning of Boston gives me an opportunity of writing to you and of sending a coloured print of the fête at Morfontaine. This I beg you to present with my very respectful compliments to Madame your mother. It is highly poetical, picture and poetry. The grounds are like.

On the 31 ultimo the exchange took place at Roederer's between their minister and myself. You will think perhaps that I have hazarded a little, when you read the ratification for which I exchanged that signed by your father. But I trust that you will, after much reflexion on the value of a final arrangement at present, think that I did right, both as a lover of our country, and as one anxious to finish under the auspices of the late administration a great business of which the present is but the channel of communication! Try, I pray you, to make your father digest and like it. Certainly I was in no good humour to assume some responsibility, for five days before, I received my letter of *recall* as minister at the Hague, and three days since I learn to a certainty that this government knew of my recall many weeks since. I kept what I considered my *secret*, God bless me! till after all was finished.[1]

[1] Murray's term of office ran until September 1, 1801. No minister or chargé of the United States was in Holland until 1814, when William Eustis was named.

I beg you to make my respectful and affectionate compliments to Mrs. Adams, and believe me always and truly yours, etc., etc.

Tomorrow we set off for Holland from whence we shall embark for Baltimore in the first ship. I mean to insist for my outfit as a matter of right. "To save" is a rule against as well as for them. Penny wise!!

CCXXII.

Rec. May 17.

Ans. June 30. CAMBRIDGE, E. S., MARYLAND, *3 April, 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: Let us not so long be silent. It is not fit. If I have delayed writing till I heard from you, it was I believe from a lurking laziness of pen that sought an excuse. For I have been anxious to write often, but at times when (I confess) some business, and God knows I have enough, prevented me. The loss of my excellent paternal house by fire in our little town has given me a great deal to do. I am now removing the bricks to a little farm to build with. Then I am and have been all this mild winter planting trees, and getting it in order. I have the happiness of having a good brother at whose house we are. He remembers with great pleasure the honour your father did him in distinguishing him by his attentions in Philadelphia; I beg you so to tell him with my most respectful compliments, that he may know that I am not the only one of my family gratefully sensible of his kindness and strictly attached to him.

We had a long passage from Rotterdam—eleven weeks. Driven in by head winds to Falmouth I had the rare luck and consolation of meeting a brother in disgrace, my friend Smith from Lisbon, who had arrived an hour before in the L[isbon] Packet. I left Rotterdam the 15 September, and arrived at Alexandria the 2 December. I am thus particular because to the best of my recollection the above is the only intelligence with which I had the honour to enrich the cabinet of the United States, not one word!! not one word!! I admire this mode of proceeding because it is hazardous to have secrets in a free government, and the surest way is to obtain no knowledge but such as the people have. This is the way to preserve common sense and is impartial, and to take neighbour's fare. At least it is pleasant for Mr. Ex-Minister, and as I had very little to communicate I was satisfy'd with keeping my little. I hope however that they receive their favourites in a different way, and press their modest taciturnity and fund of knowledge with a freedom a little more cordial, else they might as well send out a tame pigeon to carry and bring letters. This it is to be disgraced, and is among the means by which it is clearly demonstrated that a minister is a useless thing in my poor little Holland. They received me with a polite ceremoniousness and admitted the principle of all my claims (pecuniary), which was equality with my colleagues Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie].

I dined with Mr. Madison, who was greatly more cordial than any one else, and had the honour to dine with the President. Gallatin was perfectly candid in the manner of settling my account, but never returned my visit. You see they go with a pretty high hand now they are on the coach box. There is nothing so like as political phenomena and experiments in all ages, as much so as the itch, differing a little according to the bodily habit.

I will now tell you what I do that I may claim information of your doings. I plant trees of fruit and other. My neighbours stare and I believe laugh when they know that forest trees are of the number. I buy plaister of Paris to nourish my thin land, cast bricks, saw timber, and to the utter wonder of my neighbours, mean to build with a flat roof—planks tarred and papered, then an inch of pitch covered by an inch of gravel, the plane a little inclined to let the rain run off. This is to guard against fire. We have no tiles. My fear is that the sun will be too hot on a flat surface as I shall have but a story and a half in my little chateau of three rooms, kitchen and my (lumber) room, as Mrs. Murray calls my book room, below, and half under ground. I begin to go regularly to church. This is the only letter except on business that I have written. I read little except now and then at night D'Alembert's *Éloges des Membres de L'Académie*, etc., etc., and lately *Description Historique and Chronologique des monumens de Sculpture Français*, by Lenoir [1] (at the Petits Augustins at Paris), who with some taste and much intrepidity saved the debris of the churches, tombs, etc., etc., in the times of terror, and is now conservateur of that Museum. I renounce all newspapers and meddle not with politics. The gentlemen of this county are federalists, the people are generally so. There are some hundred democrats, however, and when I went away there were not ten. The people would go right, if left really to the natural impulses which regulate neighbour and neighbour; i. e. they would exercise the only political opinion that they can do consistently with their own good, VOTING right if they were not dinned into opinions and dogmas which they can make neither head nor tail of and which when once wormed in misdirects their passions. The labour and the expense of counteracting these impressions are too great to be long pursued. I had nine years of that sort of apostleship to my half ruin. Others are tired out, and indeed in a soil where weeds find so much nourishment it is a hopeless piece of work. Things I fear must take the course here which they have taken for thousands of years in other countries. Good men are only fit for a government that can protect *them;* they can not long defend *it* nor themselves nor any of their institutions. You see I am not in very high spirits. If you have consolation from your own sources pray give it. I had rather however I respect your reasoning, have it from the past-state

[1] Marie-Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839).

of New England, from whom I look for great examples and steadiness of purpose growing out of the influence of her hereditary institutions and usages and opinions. I will say also her knowledge, though that is a slippery foundation, and has much "o' the wisp" as light in it. I never loved any man's character who pretended to be governed by reason and the whole is only the parts.

I saw my valuable friend Dexter at Washington. He behaved with a firm dignity that rendered less necessary to him the opinion of every person I conversed with, which was that the whole proceeding against him and Mr. Wolcott was a low and infamous thing;[1] but it is warning enough to make every man clothe his feelings with a hide of stoicism as callous as is the foot's sole of one of those slaves who treads the furrow of an imperial Virginia democrat. Virginia is and will be our Austria. So make up your impatient mind to it. You may talk, like Prussia, of being the Spartans of the north, but the turkey cock has too wide spread a progeny for the black or blue eagle to oppose him, now that voices decide. The wilderness is hers and those who emerge from it.

Is France indisposed to the Chancellor? I can assure you of the following without any malice or *humeur*. The Chancellor was presented at the public audience (which is on the 2 and 17 of this month). He took out his speech (a thing unprecedented since Brumaire) and had proceeded a few words, when B[onaparte] with much humour exclaimed, "Mais je ne comprens pas l'Anglais, moi, donnez ça a Talleyrand," the speech was accordingly handed over to Talleyrand. B[onaparte] after this abrupt speech turned and entered into conversation with the other ambassadors, leaving the Chancellor and suite in the middle of the room. These fell back into the circle and when B[onaparte] in going his round came to him, he said through a gentleman who was interpreter, "*Demandez de lui si c'est la premier fois qu'il vient en Europe?*" "*Oui.*" B. "*Eh bien, dites lui qu'il trouvera ce monde bien corrompu.*" Having said this with a loud voice and laughing he went on. On the audience day is generally a dinner. The Chancellor though invited was absent. I have heard of the Chancellor as one of our best bred men, and it is possible that there was something in the written speech (which had been communicated previously to Talleyrand) which was lengthy, to produce ill humour. Any speech at all would too much savour of the glorious days of fraternity to please B[onaparte]. Take another anecdote from the same friend. Volney is among those opposed to the Concordat of last July. In a conversation with B[onaparte], B[onaparte] said he wished to yield to the will of the majority of the people. V. "A la bonne heure—la majorité des gens éclairés, car si vous obéissez en tout à la majorité il faudra RAPPELLER LE ROI." B[onaparte] got into a violent passion. V[olney] was frightened and fell into fits.

[1] Charges of peculation and misapplication of public monies. Wolcott made a spirited reply.

B[onaparte] exclaimed *"Otez moi cet homme la"!* and V.[olney] was sent home in a carriage. Some of B[onaparte]'s projets have been, I learn rejected by the Corps Legislatif and Tribunat, and the opposition seems systematic. I lament it for next to their old government B[onaparte] is the best government for them· indeed in much, his is the old government.

Pray make my compliments of high respect to Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Adams your mother; if your brother is near, remember me with kindness to him. This is a long letter for a man whose hands begin to harden from the use of the pruning knife and hatchet. Last August I gave a poetical sort of engraving of the fête of Morfontaine to a Mr. Manning of Boston (student at Paris) who was to give it to you; it is for my greatly respected friend your mother.

I send this to Mr. Tracey to be sent on to you. Perhaps I may change my mind before post day and send it direct. I have your cypher yet. I pray you to write me in this confidential way and tell me how you and Mrs. Adams do and what you are about. Whether law or literature engage you, or if you are in public life. It is a sea on which I embark no more. I live pleasantly with a brother whom I love, and now and then see a neighbour; but I am in a profound solitude compared to your place of abode, often ten and fifteen days from morning to night alone on my little farm working, and thus keep off recollections which might harrass me by comparisons. I am not without trifles to amuse. I have not opened my books yet (have you got those I sent?) but have a fine telescope of Levebours at Paris, a couple of good concave mirrors, a solar microscope, an electrical machine, and a *chambre noir* for the ladies, and a few paintings, which I picked up cheap at the pleasant Hague. Farewell, my dear sir, and remember me with the kindness with which I esteem you.

CCXXIII.

CAMBRIDGE, E. S., MARYLAND, *10 August, 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: The inclosed letters mark my negligence and carry my repentance. It was not till a few days since that in opening a bundle of my Hague papers that I found them! I now remember that Madame Vierman gave them to me. From the moment of my return from Paris to the day I quitted the Hague, I was engaged in the midst of hammers and packing paper and hay, and you will I hope pardon a want of order and arrangement, even though you suffer, when I assure you of this. Had it not been for this discovery you would not have heard from me so soon. Bricks can not be made without mortar, and when a man vegetates only his silence ought to be attributed to want of life rather than an abuse of it in laziness. From hence little can be had more than the echo of all the good sentiments from other places which are inspired by the present degraded state of national affairs! That echo, as far as this county goes, you may depend on.

As to a dissolution of the Union, it is too full of danger to come on as a matter of adoption. It may be a result of civil dissention, but I doubt if it can be an object deliberately brought about. Not, my dear sir, that I withhold full credit to your fears from the conversation that passes at Boston, but because the thing is unnatural, not familiar to my mind and too full of foreign danger. Besides, in 1794, I remember a prodigious deal of stir upon this point, and have then heard a very detailed estimate of loss and gain from it. That if the southern bounds were the Potomac, and the western, the Allegany, even if they took the national debt upon their shoulders, it would be a good bargain; for, said they, we cut off Indian wars and the crying expences of militia armaments and Virginia affectation. Dear me! we should have Great Britain and France by the hand in the struggle, and be fighting their European jealousies in the United States. I can see but one object of such politicians, which is rather too fine and far fetched for the feelings of Americans, *i. e.*, that by a dissolution we might have a civil war; and after, come together on the old ground of a STRONG GOVERNMENT, which I think we want. I know no nation that wants one more for the preservation of its liberties, and I never heard of one which had so few materials to make one! This remark brings me to your father's letter of 1790 in *Gazette* of the *United States* of 30 July last. He has familiarised some great truths in that letter. These are the result of a long meditation upon the past, which is in fact, though this is never believed, the history of the present! The strange thing is that in America you can not tread in the past, nor can you, from her corruption, or rather that of human nature, realize that *beau idéal*, of which the perfectionists have so much talked, here and in Europe of late. We are vibrating between both; our theories with the last, our manners with the first. How can a money loving people who have no prejudices but for income, get into the track which the past indicates, the past that was guided by some others besides that principle; or into the new doctrines which presuppose men to be angels? Even your father's truths in such a strange case appear chimerical, though true, because impracticable. As the patient can not die of the complaint, nature must be left to herself. What the cure will be God knows.

I thank you for thinking of me during your conflagration, for your address[1]—a very few statute reflexions excepted— is one. You did not intend it as a satire, but as a caustic; but indeed it has the effect of one against our suffering brethren of Boston. There is a stupidity which seems corporate, like the superstitious nonchalance of Constantinople on the pest. Do not stop until every roof is covered with tiles, and as you get shingles from the south (close to my neighborhood in Delaware, I believe) you can interest

[1] Adams' "Address to the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society" (1802).

every brickmaker and layer in Boston on the side of safety and the Union, without touching domestic interests or manufactures. I thought that I had been figurative, but as I once told you in poor little Holland, you beat me hollow. This comes of electricity. I attended a course of Charles's [1] at Paris. Franklin's bust in the Salle which to me had a charlatannic air; (for Roberson, the fantasmagoric man,[2] there, had one also in his Salle) and from the little I saw of it, it seemed as if very little knowledge had been gained beyond the mere fact. In Crébillon (fils) in his *"Ah Quelle conte"* you will find a kite sent up which was burnt in the clouds. I suspected that "the ornament" got his first idea from that, for I believe he read French early.

One of the letters is to your brother. If he be with you, remember me kindly to him; though I know that he lives in Philadelphia, yet I do not like to send the letter by post as I do not know his address, and you can send it should you make my excuses for its delay. My compliments to Mrs. Adams. I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

CCXXIV.

CAMBRIDGE, *10 November, 1803.*

MY DEAR SIR: The gentleman who has the honour to deliver this is my brother-in-law, Doctor Coats, a man of worth and most excellent good qualities, who goes to Washington upon an old military claim which has all the charms of "76" about it, as he went with Arnold to Quebec, and served in the line and as aid to Thompson for some years after. I beg leave to introduce him and recommend his case to your attention and that of your friends. To Mr. Tracey I have also given him a letter of introduction.

I beg you not thus totally to forget me. A line from you would be cheering to me after so long an interval, and I am but just (for ten days only) once more rising a little into health to which since August twelve months past I have been a total stranger! I called at Evans's in Baltimore to inquire for you the middle of last month, but you had not yet come on. I sincerely rejoice that you accepted a seat in the Senate of the Union, but fear that all wishes for political success are vain—desperate!

I am with the highest esteem and great respect, yours, dear sir,

W. V. MURRAY.

A post comes regularly to "Cambridge, E. S., Maryland" where I live a little. Pray be acquainted with our worthy member Mr. Dennis.[3]

[Endorsement.] This is the last letter I received from my excellent friend; who died the 11th of December next after its date.

In my *memory* and *hopes* his existence will cease but with my own.

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[1] Jacques-Alexandre-César Charles (1746–1823).

[2] Etienne-Gaspard Robert, usually called Robertson (1763–1837).

[3] John Dennis died 1807.

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